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INDIA AND CHINA

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THE introduction of Buddhism into China, and its subsequent influence on Chinese culture, is a subject in which I have done very little research, but which in recent years has engaged the attention of some of our best scholars. I shall try to give you a picture of the relative parts played by Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, the trinity, we may say, of Chinese culture. In the blending of these three main religious and ethical traditions is found a cultural continuity which has a great deal to do with the stamina of the people in their present war against aggression and which, in all probability, will continue to shape the course of China's history.

It is interesting to note that a Chinese Buddhist, however devoted a disciple of the Buddha he may be, reacts to the material world and to political problems in ways quite different from his Indian prototype. It is commonly said in China that when a man is in grievous pain or when he has sustained an irreparable loss, such as the death of one dear to him, he seeks spiritual relief and comfort in Buddhism. This is not only true of civil servants and high officials, but also true of the common people, the bulk of whom remain Confucianist-Buddhist without feeling any serious conflict in the combination. From the religious point of view it may be said that the Chinese as a people are probably incapable of complete religion in the sense that they are rarely able to lead a life entirely given up to religion such as exemplified by Hindus and Buddhists in India.

CONFUCIANISM

This inability to absorb themselves in religion is very probably due to the staying influence of Confucianism, which in spirit pulls a man in the opposite direction from that laid down by Buddhism. Confucianism has made the Chinese so practical-minded and has instilled in them such a strong belief in the golden mean that it is difficult to find any Chinese who would not give up all religious taboos and habits for more urgent and matter-of-fact considerations. Today, Buddhists, Muslims, Christians and Atheists are eating at the same table ~~every day and fighting in the same line in defence of their country~~.

It would not be wrong to say that Confucianism forms the moral and ethical backbone of the Chinese people, while Buddhism and Taoism provide the necessary spiritual food for a life which, owing to economic pressure, is often attended by more uncertainties than are found in modern Western societies. It is said in China that even an infidel will kneel before the statue of the Goddess of Mercy in his hour of need. Confucianism is a carefully thought-out ethical code defining the propriety of personal conduct in certain circumstances and the moral relations between men in their various aspects of relationship. The basic structure of Chinese society at the time of Confucius consisted of the individual, the family and the State, the first two being subordinate to the authority and the policy of the State. Confucius lived in a period of moral and political decay. He was able to systematize the moral and the political thoughts of the past and to convince the rulers and scholars of the days of the necessity of the system for reasons of political stability. He had no spiritual message to give, and founded no religion for us.

The message which Gautama Buddha finally gave to the world after years of austere meditation was one which was intended not for India alone, but for mankind as a whole. He saw in mankind the very seeds of self-destruction, and it was with a view to salvaging the human race that Buddha finally preached to his disciples. His thoughts rise above the considerations of the propriety of conduct and the moral basis of a State. The Chinese, who themselves are unable to follow Buddhism whole-heartedly and who have to compromise between a strongly entrenched ethical code and a lofty religious ideal, have always felt great admiration for the Hindus and Buddhists in India, whose whole existence is devoted far more consistently to the observation of religious rules.

It is not my purpose to discuss the essential differences between Confucianism and Buddhism, but it is important to note that although Buddhism, particularly the Mahayana Buddhism, has flourished, with the exception of a few short periods of official suppression and decline, for almost 1,900 years it has never been a commanding force in the life of the people.

INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM

Historians usually date the introduction of Buddhism into China from the famous dream or vision of the Emperor Ming in the year 61 A.D. But long before that the ground had been prepared by fantastic legends brought back by caravan traders from the so-called Western countries. Many circumstances helped to pave the way for the new religion. In the first place, Confucianism was essentially a system of morals, and as such never succeeded in satisfying the deeper innate spiritual needs of the people. It gave no answer to the undefined questions of existence, neither the strength to bear the perils of life nor the solace needed in the hour of death. It may be a sign of the inherent weakness and disappointment in life that we find in all ancient cultures an emotional urge to fathom the mystery of life after death. There are religions whose founders never conceived the idea of after-life, but the people who have embraced them have, as if from a universal need, supplemented the original teachings of their founders by

some intricate doctrines of immortality and retributive practice. The inner urge for the knowledge of the life beyond seems to have shaped the course of many civilizations.

In China before the introduction of Buddhism, Taoism had, to a high degree, already awakened religious speculation. The thoughts of scholars were gradually turned to something undefined, something that could fill life and eternity with light and hope. By Taoism itself it was darkly hinted that this something was to come from the distant wonderlands of the West, which in those days referred generally to the countries in Central Asia and what was then known as T'ien-chu, the old name for India. T'ien-chu was to China in those days what China was to Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—a remote paradise for wisdom and wealth.

For two or three centuries there had been trade caravans between China and India, and gradually China's knowledge of India became more defined, especially regarding her strong, colourful religious life. It is regrettable that we know so little of the trade caravans which in those early days passed between India and China, but we are certain that there were caravans, for they were referred to in many of our earlier writings.

FAMOUS CHINESE TRAVELLERS

During the reign of the Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (140-73 B.C.) the famous Chinese traveller and emissary, Chang Ch'ien, was sent to China's southern and western boundaries to deal with the border tribes there. It seems that on one of these journeys he went as far as Parthia, where at that time Mithridates II was king. From that journey Chang Ch'ien brought back with him to the Chinese court probably the first account of a Buddha's golden statue. This man, who had been in prison for ten years among the Turks of Eastern Asia, was certainly among the first Chinese who knew the name of Buddha. Strange legends of the influence of this holy man, Buddha, must have passed from lip to lip in taverns where the caravans stopped to pass the night and to rest their camels. Very soon Buddhist literature began imperceptibly to sift into China over the border, and about the year 60 A.D. there was among various circles in China a certain acquaintance with Buddhism. When, therefore, in the year 61 A.D., the Emperor Ming had his dream, one of his ministers, Fu Yi, could immediately refer the emperor to the Indian deity, Buddha.

One must discount the famous story told by the old Buddhist monk, Tao Shih, in his historical work, *Fa Yuan Chu Lin*, in the year 668 A.D. He relates that as early as 217 B.C. a monk from India, with the Chinese name of Li-fang, came over to Si-an with seventeen other "brothers." There they were imprisoned by the authorities, but were later rescued in a miraculous manner. The same writer believes that a great many Buddhist writings had already been translated before the Ch'in dynasty in China, but that these writings were burned. This last statement particularly makes the whole matter highly improbable, for at that time the Buddhist writings were scarcely completed and collected in India itself. The great Chinese historian Ssu-ma-ch'ien mentions nothing about these things in his famous *Historical Chronicles*, in spite of the fact that he

THE INDIAN BUDDHIST MONKS

Among the first books which these priests translated may be mentioned a freely abbreviated text of Asvaghosha's work on the life of Buddha, known today as the Buddha Charita Kavya. This is an account, on the whole correct, given in five chapters on Buddha's life as we know it from the Indian sources. Thus began the happy stream of Buddhist monks from India to China, which continued for over 700 years, and which became of such great significance to the Middle Kingdom.

It is interesting to see how during the first 200 years the immigrant monks held positions of leadership and how the responsibility and administration, little by little went entirely into Chinese hands. Only when that took place did the great increase come. It was then that Buddhism became nationally established in China. But China will never forget these first Buddhist missionaries, who faithfully and ably undertook the difficult task of translation and organization, and who threw themselves into the work so whole-heartedly and altruistically. When one now goes through the enormous mass of Buddhist writings translated and prepared by these pilgrims from India, and written in the finest style of the Chinese literati, one cannot but be filled with deep respect and wonder. There is another side which is still more striking, that of the spiritual influence of these monks upon the rather cold and calculating character of the Chinese people. The Indian monks, who moved about in the first temples in China, sat in cells and carefully copied out the sutras and went to their simple vegetarian meals and to their services, were deeply religious men, for whom absorption into the absolute was life's main task. It came as a revelation to the Chinese, it was the "doctrine" or the "law," as it

was called in the Buddhist phraseology, transposed into the human living form. Little by little the cold hearts of the Chinese converts thawed, and through this personal influence was created that best type among the Chinese monks, that type of holy dignity combined with the nobility of character which since then has stood before the Chinese Buddhists as a great ideal.

A BLENDING OF CULTURES

There are two things which draw our attention here on the one hand, the faithfulness with which China has preserved and carried further the lines of thought which have the peculiar stamp of Indian Mahayana Buddhism, on the other hand, the artistic and harmonious manner with which the Buddhists of China have been able to introduce something of the latent Chinese spiritual element into the system. It lies beyond the scope of our subject to sketch in detail the radical transformation which took place in Hinayana, the original Indian Buddhism, when it came to China. Already, as early as the time of King Asoka, the narrow atheistic system had begun to break up, although the appellations "Mahayana" and "Hinayana" were first taken into common usage somewhat later. I regret that time does not allow me to enter into the discussion of how Mahayana developed on Chinese soil, and how a number of Mahayanistic classical sutras were also written in China both by Indian and Chinese priests. For students of religion this fact provides a rich field of research.

Among the names of some of the men who did the most towards giving Chinese Buddhism its peculiar stamp must be mentioned Hui-yuan, who lived in the years 333-416 A.D. He was a Taoist who founded the most prominent of all Chinese Mahayana schools, the so-called "Pure Land" school. The special dogmas of this school were found in China long before this time, but Hui-yuan put the doctrine of salvation by faith into strong relief by introducing some Taoist ideas and appellations. Today the "Pure Land" school is the most powerful school in Chinese Buddhism.

It became quite common, beginning from the fourth century, for Chinese monks to travel westward on pilgrimage to India and to bring back as many sacred writings and relics as they could carry on themselves. Some of these pilgrims travelled all the way down to South India, even to Ceylon, and quite naturally they received strong impressions of Hinayana Buddhism also. So the confusion increased with every new pilgrimage which was undertaken. China was then positively flooded with Buddhist scriptures, and it was with apparent impatience that the patrons of Buddhism among the emperors appointed one commission after another to give Mahayana's Tripitaka on Chinese soil its final form. The great contradictions between Mahayana and Hinayana scriptures which continually emerged filled the air with excitement, and the most amazing theories were propounded by which to explain the whole. The Chinese mind, which was then in the most receptive mood, lingered for further sutras from India, which they hoped would solve the apparent inconsistency of the two schools. It is not without reason, therefore, that in the books of travel of that period it is constantly said that, "now that this pilgrimage

has been brought to a happy conclusion, we have finally secured what was lacking in the scriptures and secured the desired clearness in the formerly contradictory system ”

Among famous Chinese pilgrims who went to India in those days we must mention Fa-hsien, Sung-yun, I-ch'ing, and the famous Hsuan Chuang, who lived in 629-645 AD. Of these men the first and the last are especially worthy of attention. Professor Legge's translation, *Fa-hsien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, gives a very good view of that remarkable pilgrim's life and thought. From his books of travel we can follow him across the Gobi's dangerous desert sands, where “only the bleached bones along the way showed the path”, we can see how the tribes on the border of the Chinese Empire were already influenced by the “law,” or, in other words, the way of salvation as Buddhism had outlined it. It is also interesting to notice that it was Mahayana that was especially cultivated.

A tremendous impression was made on his spiritually-minded contemporaries and successors in China by Hsuan Chuang's descriptions of his experiences and encounters, known as *A Record from the Western Frontier*. The famous novel *Hsi Yu Chi*, or “An Account of a Journey to the West,” is a rather fantastic version of the original writings of the famous pilgrim. The novel today is one of the most popular in China, and has given to the literature of the people some most memorable characters.

INDIA'S LAST PATRIARCH

With the coming to China of the Indian monk Bodhiharma in the year 520 AD, the centre of gravity was moved, not merely actually, but formally from India to China. Bodhiharma was the twenty-eighth patriarch in direct line from Sakyamuni Buddha, and was India's last patriarch. He then became China's first patriarch, founding that honourable line of “fathers” (Tsu-shih) who have for all time, in the opinion of Buddhists, cast a light of glory over the Yangtze Valley, where they settled. Bodhiharma is known in China by the name of P'u-t'i-ta-mo, or, often in abbreviated form, Tamo. From a religious point of view he belonged to the so-called Dhyani School in India, and transplanted it to Chinese soil under the name of Ch'an Tsung, or, the Meditation School, to which the most intellectual Buddhists in China now belong. His work had tremendous significance for Chinese Buddhism. Even in Korea and Japan he is equally revered as one of the most important patriarchs. His Japanese name is Daruma.

Bodhiharma stayed most of the time at Loyang in North China, the first home of Buddhism in China, but he also visited the region of the Yangtze. At that time the Emperor Liang-wu-ti was living in Nanking. He had furthered the progress of Buddhism as a few of those before him had done. By erecting buildings and encouraging literary work, he had sought to secure a sure foothold in the doctrine of the people. He mentioned all this in his conversation with Bodhiharma when the latter came to Nanking. The patriarch's reply was typical. “These are all outward things which are of no benefit.” The truly valuable things are attained only by that inner purification and enlightenment which comes through quiet pondering and meditation. In the midst of a confusing and unsettled

time, when the most varied literature and the most diverse systems of salvation set men's thoughts fermenting, the patriarch stood forth with his strong and simple demand, "Seek meditation, for there you will find that clearness and peace which the study of the scriptures alone can never give" What gave his works power was the fact that he himself carried out this practice of meditation, which he kept up to his last days

CHINESE RELIGIOUS ART

Some important cultural changes set in after the establishment of Buddhism in China. The first and probably the best-known influence which Buddhism exerted on Chinese culture was the new element of religious art which came into Chinese painting and sculpture. During the Southern and Northern dynasties, after the Han dynasty, when Buddhism reached probably a height of popularity never equalled subsequently, and when many of the ruling monarchs, for reasons political, espoused the foreign cult, the art of sculpture became completely Buddhist. It was the period from which we now get the best Chinese sculpture. It is a question of taste in China whether one prefers a stone sculpture of the Han dynasty or the Buddhist sculpture of the Southern and Northern dynasties. But the stone sculptures of the Han dynasty represent at best the development of what one may call pictorial sculpture, the panoramic stone slabs representing historical scenes lack the freedom and boldness of lines which characterize the Buddhist works of the Southern and Northern dynasties.

Some historians of art hold that Chinese sculpture was influenced by the sculpture of Gandhara in North-Western India, which reached its maximum development about the beginning of the second century, but as far as we know Gandhara sculpture in its pure form probably spread only as far as Eastern Turkistan. The art which now developed in Northern China under the Toba Tatar, or the Northern Wei dynasty, 38-534 A.D., was definitely a direct outgrowth of this. It may have flowered locally under the stimulus of the new religious faith, although naturally finding inspiration for certain of its elements in Indian, Iranian, or even Hellenistic ideas, which reached China by the great Central Asiatic caravan routes. The famous stone caves of Lung-mung and the gigantic pieces of Yun-k'eng are standing examples of the harmony of the native genius and the foreign influence which had stimulated it to creation. During the Liang dynasty, 502-556 A.D., a new influence also reached China by the sea route through the Straits of Malacca. It must have originated chiefly in Southern India and brought with it an art little affected by that of Gandhara, but reflecting rather that of the great Maurya dynasty of the third century B.C. A very good example of this is found in the winged lions of Nanking. In the T'ang dynasty, Buddhist sculpture became more refined, but surely not so vigorous as the previous works. It is often pointed out by Chinese art critics that in the T'ang dynasty a kind of naturalism replaced conventionality in Buddhist sculpture, and Buddhist statues, particularly the heads, instead of reflecting an impersonal and purely spiritual ideal, became individual portraits. To me T'ang sculpture was a definite retrogression, when the artisans aimed more at decoration than the expression of faith. I have fought this battle with some of my friends in

China and have wasted a fair amount of paper and ink, which is so precious in these days

In the field of painting the influence of Buddhism has been even greater. If an iconoclast destroyed all the great religious pieces in Western art, I wonder how much would be left that was worth looking at. Although you cannot say that of the Chinese art, because there has been a continuous development of secular art in China which is fairly large in bulk, one must admit that the greatest pieces of paintings in the T'ang dynasty were almost half Buddhist. In fact, one of our famous art critics, who died about thirty years ago, said that all the existing authentic pieces of T'ang paintings are religious in character.

I have forgotten to mention the T'ang frescoes, which represent the only oil pieces in Chinese painting. Frescoes began to be painted by monks, both Indian and Chinese, in the middle of the Southern and Northern dynasties, and flourished to the end of the T'ang dynasty, after which there were very few good pieces done. The collecting of T'ang frescoes has been the vogue for about thirty years now, and the price of frescoes has mounted twenty-fold. I remember when I was a boy of ten, about thirty years ago, my father bought a T'ang fresco for two taels to help out a dealer who was in need of money. My father thought it extremely vile and could not bear it in his study, and it eventually ended up in one of the servants' rooms. That piece may be worth £1,000 at Christie's today. A very interesting thing about frescoes is that they were definitely a medium brought over from the West. I am not able to say to what extent the technique of painting with oil on wooden panels, canvas and plaster was influenced by the Gandhara sculptures, but it definitely smacks of European tradition.

BUDDHIST TRANSLATORS

I have referred to the translation made on Chinese soil of Sanskrit sutras by Indian and Chinese monks. I want to give you a very brief picture of what such work meant in those days. Let us take the translation of the sutras in the early T'ang dynasty as an example. In the famous Life of Hsuan-chuang, who undertook to translate many sutras after his return from India, it was said that he employed a staff of 600 translators, some of whom were Sanskrit scholars and some were famous literati. The process was most elaborate. A Sanskrit scholar would read aloud the text of the sutras, while some translators would render the text into Chinese without altering the original order. This Sinolized Sanskrit text would be worked over by several sets of translators into understandable Chinese. Their text would be read to Chinese scholars who did not understand Sanskrit, then the text would be checked over again by Sanskrit-Chinese scholars to ensure faithfulness to the original matter. At one stage the translation would be unintelligible both to Sanskrit and to Chinese scholars, but translations on a far greater scale had been done by Hsuan-chuang. When the first Indian monks came and the White Horse Temple was built for the purpose of translating sutras, 36,000 men were employed in the so-called Court for the Translation of Sutras, of which the White

Horse Temple was only a part. We still have the names of 800 Sanskrit scholars who worked on the various translations

The influence of these Buddhist translators on the Chinese language has been tremendous. There are at least 10,000 phrases and usages in the Chinese language which are traceable to Buddhist translations. A recent scholar, Professor Chen, who was designated to Oxford two years ago as Professor of Chinese, and who only recently left Hongkong, believes that the Chinese tones actually came from the translation of the sutras.

Many of the Hindu and Buddhist customs are found in China, so much so that when I was in India I was not surprised at many of the local customs which seem strange to Westerners.

I have tried to say how much China owes to India and also how in many fundamental ways China is different from India. So it is not without reason that the Generalissimo said when he was in India that China owes India a debt which she will try to repay in the future. Gratitude is a Confucian virtue. It is my hope that we shall be able to return some of our best Confucian concepts to India as a token of gratitude for what India has given to us in the form of religion.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, July 23, 1942, an address on 'India and China' was given by Dr K C George Yeh, Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy and London Director of the Chinese Ministry of Information. The chair was taken by Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, C.B., D.S.O., Chairman of the China Institute.

The CHAIRMAN said that Dr Yeh did not intend to begin a political discussion or to touch on the very intricate present-day situation, but, what was more valuable from her point of view, merely to paint the background against which China and India stood out each in its different way. He would speak of the earliest philosophies of the two countries and indicate how these were affecting and guiding their action in resistance to aggression. Dr Yeh was well qualified to deal with such a subject, which he had studied historically and philosophically and by personal contacts not only in China but in India and Malaya.

Dr YEH then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN thanked Dr Yeh for an instructive and stimulating address. In less than forty minutes he had compressed a vast amount of philosophy and thought into a discourse which, to himself at least, was very encouraging for the future. He had shown how, for many centuries, there was free interchange of ideas between India and China. Did not this hold out hope for the future? Why should that intercourse have been broken, as undoubtedly it had been, and why should it not be restored? If this free exchange of ideas and interests between these two great countries—with which he was glad to say Dr Yeh in his concluding remarks had linked Great Britain—could take place, would it not be a hopeful augury for the newer and smaller countries of Europe, and possibly, with the help of the United States, for the whole world? His picture of the migration of art—probably it started from Athens

and went through Egypt into the more eastern parts of China—was surely one of the romances of cultural history, linked as it was inevitably with the similar migration of religious thought and philosophy of those days

Sir REGINALD DORMAN-SMITH, Governor of Burma, had addressed the following letter to Sir Frederick Sykes from the Burma Office, and it was read by the Chairman

It is with the greatest regret that I now find myself unable to attend the meeting of the East India Association on July 23, and am thus prevented from hearing what I am sure will be a most instructive and interesting address by Dr Yeh on India and China

However close the links between India and China are, those between Burma and China are far closer. At the present moment, when the war is uppermost in the minds of all of us, people are apt to think of the relations between Burma and China in terms of the Burma Road and the recent campaign in Burma. True enough, those facts have made the bonds far closer than before, but the close bonds which existed before the war between Burma and China are equally important. Burma and China are neighbouring countries, with all that that implies of interchange of trade, people and ideas. History, too, shows a close and continuing connection between the two countries. There has long been a substantial Chinese trading community in Burma, and Chinese artisans are well known for their hard work and competence. Many Chinese have married Burmese women and have taken up their domicile in Burma. These are the enduring bonds which would have continued to exist whatever the developments of the war. The latter, however, have drawn these two countries into a far closer relationship. The history of the Burma Road is world knowledge. Its conception and completion are a monument to the Chinese nation and their dogged determination to find whatever means possible of combating the Japanese.

But more important even than this has been the presence of Chinese troops fighting for the Allied cause in Burma. The Generalissimo Chiang Kai shek's policy is to fight the Japanese wherever they are found to be fought, and he never hesitated in doing what he could to send Chinese troops to assist the Allied cause in Burma. For the courage of those troops I have nothing but praise. Very often heavily outnumbered and faced with an enemy better equipped, they fought with unflinching tenacity. They played their full part in that long, arduous, but incredibly gallant rearguard action that was the Burma campaign.

The close ties of history, reinforced by the part the Chinese played in the Burma campaign, make it inevitable that in the recapture of Burma and the post war settlement and all the work that lies ahead, there must be the closest co-operation between China and Burma. If it continues to be my good fortune to be Governor of Burma at that time, I for one will do my utmost to see that the Burma which takes its place among the revived nations of the world will be a worthy neighbour to a country whose greatness has been so fully proved, not only in its history, but in its long, patient and courageous struggle against aggression.

PANGARAN SOEJONA, member of the Netherlands Ministry, wrote

In the Netherlands East Indies a close contact between the Chinese and the Indonesians, which since centuries has existed, has grown into a deep friendship and understanding between these two peoples. One and a quarter million Chinese are resident in the country and the majority of them have been born there. They live in the big cities as well as in the villages of the interior.

They are industrious and efficient tradesmen and are loyal and self possessed civilians. Many of them are married to Indonesians, and in some parts they are occupied with agricultural work. They have a great power of adaptation and live harmoniously amongst the natives of the country.

These conditions naturally contribute to the development of strong sympathies towards China and the Chinese people, who for five years have been the victims of a wholly unjustified and ruthless attack by the Japanese. No wonder, therefore, that, four years ago, when a committee was formed on the initiative of some Chinese students to help the victims of the war in China, many Indonesians, including myself, immediately and with enthusiasm joined the Committee.

In the Indonesian community great admiration is felt for the courage and unconquerable spirit of the Chinese army under the inspiring leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. And with the Indonesians, also, there is a strong feeling that in the end justice will overcome ruthless and cruel violence.

Sir M AZIZUL HUQZ (High Commissioner for India) said that they were all grateful to the Association for eliciting from the learned speaker of the afternoon so inspiring a paper. It helped to create an understanding of another country, and also a mutual understanding, and he was particularly grateful to Dr Yeh for having in such lucid terms spoken of the inter-connection between India and China. He placed them side by side as countries between which an inter-cultural understanding had been created. In fact, they formed the two largest cultural units in the world, and the study of their respective evolutions and of the things they had in common was a matter of great human interest. Both took the same pattern in outlook and conception. Both were very largely influenced by physical structure, climate, and geographical surroundings. Both had immense masses of human population and vast areas of country, and by a cruel irony of fortune both had been faced with a common danger today, in fact, both were called on to struggle for the survival of their national existence in face of aggression.

The civilization of China, founded so many ages ago, spread out along its valleys, everywhere it developed characteristically the same pattern, and yet by means of its large sea coast it allowed access to world cultures. In other words, it retained its individual entity, and yet it was never thought necessary for the best survival of that individual entity to create an exclusion of foreign cultures. These, on the contrary, it welcomed. In fact, there had been a continuity of purpose both in India and China in the persistence of their culture, and in neither country had foreign culture been able to swamp the native product. Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians who came to either country remained as citizens. That was the spirit behind the history of both countries, and between them there was much common ground. The social and economic fabric of both countries was family life. They had a similar philosophy and ethical outlook. In other ways they were also similar. Both had great density of population. Both had a vast agricultural population. Urban populations were relatively small both in India and China, and it was the vast number of villages that dominated the common life. Yet industrial progress and scientific attainment had been marked in both.

In both countries, again, there was an aristocracy, not of capitalism, but of learning. Sometimes he felt—and he knew that he was speaking in a Western democracy—that China and India had known a freedom which did not depend on their resources in coal and iron and steel, nor upon the imports from other countries, and it was this freedom which had conferred the greatest social stability. The cavalcades and the armies had passed by, but the social stability had remained. Personally, he felt that individual freedom was a greater human asset than the freedom of a democracy in which it was necessary to depend upon outside resources. That Eastern freedom of the individual was of greater value, at least to them in the East. In fact, it was this that had created the larger unity, the unity which came about through culture, not through economic interests. It was not through international economic conferences but through the diffusion of culture and understanding that unity in the two countries had been brought about.

In India they attached great importance to those pilgrims from China who came to India in their travels in past ages, some by the sea route, others by land. The sea route was interesting because that pilgrimage started from a Chinese town and terminated in the Presidency of Bengal in forty-five or forty six days—a good example of speed before modern times. The speaker referred to one or two of the great Chinese pilgrims who from 400 A.D. onwards travelled through Central Asia into India, for example, Fa-Hien, who entered India from Afghanistan and journeyed down to the Bay of Bengal, and, in the seventh century Hsuan Tang, who travelled to India from China by the Central Asian route. He described the welcome which some of these pilgrims received—the reception by rulers and officials, the eager, crowded streets, where people expressed their joy in festive music. These pilgrims crossed trackless

wastes, climbed formidable mountains, forded dangerous rivers, and the work they did in the translation of the sacred books of Buddhism was imperishable.

When he studied these records of the distant past he thought also of modern pilgrims, especially of the Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, whose recent visit to India had been so noteworthy, and he thought of the struggle and unity of all these nations—India, China, America, Russia, and Great Britain. He hoped and believed that as a result of the new situation which was developing before them there would be a new revolution in world history, that East and West would combine and meet together in the great commonwealth of man, and not only would there be a greater understanding of East and West, but a greater understanding among all the countries of the world, each of the others, on a common and equal platform.

Sir Arul CHATTERJEE said that after the extremely interesting and thoughtful address of Dr Yeh and the very eloquent speech of the High Commissioner there was little for him to add, but in Dr Yeh's remarks there were one or two points which struck him as worthy of further investigation. He had stated that in China Buddhism had been harmonized with Confucianism and Taoism, and therefore the Chinese Buddhist was inspired not merely by things of the spirit but also by material and worldly considerations—at any rate he showed the effect of a harmony between those different philosophies—whereas in India, at least Dr Yeh implied, Buddhism meant that the adherents of that faith paid little attention to material objects or worldly considerations.

He was rather disposed to question whether Dr Yeh's judgment in this respect, so far as India was concerned, was entirely right. In a study of Indian history it would be found that the great Maurya dynasty were Buddhists from Asoka downwards, and these certainly did not forget the practical side of life. The same was true of other notable dynasties—the Pāla dynasty, for example, which ruled for four hundred years in Bengal and Bihar—they were strongly Buddhist, as his friend the High Commissioner would testify, but they also took full cognizance of the world needs of their day. He thought that Dr Yeh, unless he had mistaken his meaning, was wrong in suggesting that Buddhism implied a total disregard of the things of this life.

The other point to which Dr Yeh had referred was the influence of Buddhism in China for about one thousand years from the first century after Christ right down to about 1000 A.D., when thousands of Indian Buddhist priests migrated to China and that wonderful organization was formed, which Dr Yeh had described, for translating Sanskrit and Pali works into the most fine and beautiful Chinese. The question was why did that stream of influence stop after that period? That was a problem he had never been able to solve, and he would be glad to have Dr Yeh to enlighten him upon it.

The High Commissioner had already pointed out that there were many similarities between the structure of life and administration in China and India during the past ages. The family had been supreme in both countries. Agriculture had been the chief industry. There had been a certain mingling of artistic impulses between China and India throughout the centuries. He did not himself consider that Gandhāra sculpture was a purely Indian art. Very soon after Gandhāra art had vanished, say, about the second century A.D., genuine Indian art sprang up. When Dr Yeh referred to the influence of Indian art coming through Malaya into China, he himself was more than inclined to believe that it came from the south of India, say, from Amarāvati, there was a great deal of contact between the south of India and Malaya and he was sure that the influence proceeded from that direction.

Dr Yeh probably knew, and everybody present would be glad to know, that there was again in India a great revival of interest in China and Chinese culture. Tagore, in organizing his great seat of learning at Bolpur in Bengal, established a special chair in Chinese, and there had been Chinese scholars there as well as Indian scholars who had been studying Chinese culture in its many different branches. It was hoped that this would have a wonderful effect all over India in the future. A great deal was owed to China also for works about Buddhism, to which Dr Yeh had referred, and for the resuscitation of a great many works in Sanskrit which had completely disappeared from India but had been preserved in Chinese translations. In indus-

trial matters, again, the debt to China was considerable. He thought that Dr Yeh and many present would be aware that for several generations Chinese artisans had been settled in Calcutta and other Indian cities, where they had always been welcomed, and the relations between them and the Indian people had been most harmonious. The Chinese had been the most prized artisans in some branches of work all over India.

He hoped, as had been so eloquently said by the High Commissioner, that the community of feeling and interest between the two great countries in Asia would develop continuously, and that in future both would play the same important part in world affairs, at least in culture, as they had done in the past. It had been well remarked that China and India had always come together on cultural grounds. They had never fought against one another. It was a most notable circumstance in the history of the world that two great countries which had always been neighbours should have preserved friendly relations through the centuries.

In conclusion, he said that their gratitude was due to Dr Yeh for his excellent exposition of the cultural connections between China and India.

Professor GORDON LUCE was invited to speak as one who had just returned from Burma, where he had held an appointment in Rangoon University. He desired to make one or two remarks about the most interesting address by Dr Yeh in order to add a little concerning the position of Burma between India and China. Of course, most Buddhist culture came to China through Central Asia. A certain amount came, no doubt, as other speakers had said, by the south, by sea. But from early times there was such a thing as the overland road—the Burma Road. He found many people talking as if the Burma Road had never been heard of until a few years ago. The Burma Road was one of the oldest roads in history. It was mentioned by Chang Ch ien in the second century B.C. The great Buddhist pilgrim, I tsing, mentions it as used by twenty Chinese monks who visited India in the time of Sri Gupta, founder of the Gupta dynasty. In the T ang dynasty, towards the end of the eighth century A.D., the Minister of State, Chia Tan, traced out the full stages of the route from China to Magadha, giving the distances.

Sir Atul Chatterjee had raised a most interesting question as to how far Buddhist and Indian influences were purely spiritual and how far they had an economic side also. He did not know what Dr Yeh was going to say in answer to that question, but there was one answer which he himself would like to give, speaking from the standpoint of Burma. After all, Burmans were very like Chinese, younger brothers in many ways of the Chinese, very similar in language, in race, and in their fundamental culture. The influence of Buddhism on Further India and on China might not have created quite the same result as that which it had on Indians in their own land. But outside India it was certainly of an idealistic nature. Dr Yeh had said that there was something matter-of-fact—he thought he used the phrase ‘a little hard’—about the Chinese temperament. The same was true of the Burman and also of the Thai peoples. There was certainly something lacking on the spiritual plane until Indian influence, and particularly Buddhism, came there. That was a historical fact, borne out by many instances. One had only to see what happened when Indian influence came. It came to Champa in Annam, and the result was the great art centre of Mison. It came to Camboja, and the result was Angkor. It came to Java, and the result was Borobudur. It came to Burma, and the result was Pagan. It came to China, and the result was Yun-Kang and Lung men. Here, surely, the Far East owed a tremendous debt to India such as it could never repay.

Before he sat down he desired to say one word emphasizing—if it was not im-
pertinent for him to do so—what Sir Reginald Dorman Smith had said in the letter
which had been read. It seemed to him that those who had been in Burma must
feel a tremendous debt to the Chinese for the magnificent way in which they had
come to their help. It was true that for the moment the tide of battle had not yet
turned, as it certainly would turn. But China had stood by Burma in her hour of
need, and when it was in dire need itself, and he personally, after knowing a little
of what was done in the Shan States and the magnificent way in which the Chinese
stepped into the breach at once, felt impelled to offer his tribute of gratitude. The

way in which Chiang Kai-shek sent troops was magnificent. Everyone who had been in Burma during recent months would subscribe to the tribute of admiration and gratitude to the Chinese Generalissimo for his magnificent generosity to them

Dr. YEH, in reply, thanked Sir Atul Chatterjee for his very kind remarks. He wished to make himself clear on the first point Sir Atul had raised, about the Chinese inability to absorb themselves completely in spiritual effort. His paper had been far from complete, and there were points which he would have developed more fully had he time to do so. As a Chinese, he had sometimes felt that his race was too practical—regrettably so, he felt—and he had tried to make it clear in his short paper that the inability of the Chinese to sustain a whole-hearted spiritual resistance was due probably to the staying influence of Confucianism. He meant to suggest that that was a loss on the part of the Chinese. The "Golden Mean" had been responsible for some serious defects in the Chinese character, Dr. Yeh said.

Very rarely did the Chinese pendulum swing to the extreme. He did not mean to imply that their Indian friends were unable to attend to practical affairs of life. That was very far from his contention. He wanted also to thank Sir Atul Chatterjee for what he had said about the influence on Chinese sculpture from the Malacca Straits. He quite accepted Sir Atul Chatterjee's view. It was regrettable that historical records were rather insufficient on that particular point, but it could not be far from the truth to say that the influence probably came via South India.

After having heard the penetrating remarks of Professor Luce, he wished to add a few words about what they in China thought concerning Burma. Great Britain and China were allies. In all democratic nations there was a tendency to recrimination after defeat, which he thought was greatly to be deplored. As they said in China, they might lose a few battles, but they would eventually win the war. Burma was lost because there were not enough men and because, perhaps, both the Chinese and British troops were not properly directed, but if this was so, it was not the fault of the Chinese or of the British alone. Those of them in the rear who were not engaged in fighting should direct their attention to what could be done in the future, not to what we had failed to achieve in the past. Only in so far as it could help the future were they interested in the past. The dispatch of Chinese troops to Burma was a moral obligation on China's part as an ally as well as a military necessity. The Chinese were proud that they had fought side by side with their British ally.

Mr. DE LA VALETTE proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his illuminating address. Not only had he given an excellent paper, but he had inspired those who spoke after him to some excellent oratory. There were two reasons why he personally wanted to thank Dr. Yeh for being present that day. One was because by his high and thoughtful handling of his subject he had raised the whole level of the discussion to a point where they got away from the small things over which they might squabble and fight and realized an essential unity. Those who were concerned with some of the activities of the war had been aware of the danger of losing sight of the big things that mattered and getting too much absorbed in the small things. Dr. Yeh and those whom he had addressed all shared the same view that they ought to have large things in mind, and with that in view he had reminded them of the high cultural and intellectual level which had existed in the past over such a large part of India and the Far East. The Association was extremely grateful for this clear exposition of matters affecting so closely three very important countries in the East—China, India, and Burma. It was good to have had this discussion on a London platform by people who knew so much about the subject as Dr. Yeh and those who had followed him.

Mr. B. WARD PERKINS writes

In my wanderings on lecture tour I have noticed a growing interest in China and the Far East, this not only because of an appreciation of the valiant fight that China is putting up, though indeed the patience of the Chinese, soldiers and civilians, is well appreciated, especially by the isolated units that dot our countryside. But there is also a growing understanding of the important part that China will play in the Far East, and a hope and indeed belief that her needs and interests are not so different

from ours that they cannot be harmonized. The growing respect for the Chinese people and a realization of their great traditions will make this easier, and we shall have so many problems nearer home that we will be happy to see people we can respect taking a share in responsibilities. Perhaps more than anything else the visit of Chang Kai shek to India brought this home. He has done in China what needs doing in India, and his speech to the Indian people was not misunderstood here.

ORISSA, PAST AND PRESENT

BY SIR JOHN HUBBACK, K.C.S.I.

A good many years ago a member of my service, then very junior, published a book with the sub-title "A Little-Known Province of the Empire." Unkind critics remarked that the author's knowledge was not noticeably greater than that of his public. The moral I draw from this is that it is imprudent to overestimate either one's own knowledge or the ignorance of one's audience. Still, I have found some rather startling gaps in the knowledge of my friends, both in England and in other parts of India, and I therefore make no further apology if much of what I am going to tell you this afternoon is familiar to many of you.

The British Province of Orissa is one of the smallest provinces of India. Yet with an area of 32,000 square miles it is about as large as Scotland, and its population of eight and three-quarter millions exceeds that of the Commonwealth of Australia, and approaches that of the Union of South Africa. Those of the Eastern States which are permeated with Oriya culture and have had long connection with British Orissa contribute another 28,000 square miles and about another five million people.

Now, where is this Orissa, British and States? Make a rectangle representing 300 miles by 200 miles. Put it on the map with its long sides north-east to south-west and its north-east corner at the mouth of the Subarnarekha River, 100 miles down the Bay of Bengal from Calcutta. This rectangle will cover most of Orissa and not very much else.

The Indian States included in this rectangle are the twenty-four which used to be described as the Feudatory States of Orissa. For administrative reasons three of these were left out when the Orissa States Agency was created some ten years ago, while two which have much less concern with Orissa were brought into that agency. In this paper I propose to follow the older arrangement.

TWO DISTINCT PHYSICAL TRACTS

Orissa is made up of two very distinct physical tracts. The first is the coastal tract extending on the average forty miles inland. It comprises practically all of the British districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, and the plains part of Ganjam district. The second tract lies above the Eastern Ghats, where the Central Indian plateau breaks down, in many places very steeply, to the deltas. There lie the twenty-four Indian States, with Angul (an island of British Orissa) in the middle of them, Sambalpur

sprawling untidily along the north-west boundary, and the Ganjam Agency and Koraput district hanging on southwards to the peg of Kalahandi State. These broken highlands are, for the most part, 1,000 feet above sea-level, much of them above 2,000 feet, with several peaks not far short of 5,000 feet. They contain many fertile valleys, some bare uplands and much, though diminishing, forests.

Through the middle runs the Mahanadi (the great river), rising far back in the Central Provinces, and carrying in full flood more water than ever goes down the Ganges itself. A drop of Mahanadi water may find its way into the Bay of Bengal through the Dhamra Estuary or through the Chilka Lake or by many other channels on the coast-line of 150 miles between these points. North and east of the Mahanadi Valley are the valleys of two more very considerable rivers, the Brahmani and the Baitarani, which mingle their waters mutually and with the Mahanadi, and whose floods are only slightly less destructive. Ganjam district is, for the most part, drained by the comparatively orderly stream of the Rushikulya, and Koraput by numerous streams, which, barred by the 3,000-foot bastion on the east of that district, discharge ultimately into the Madras river Godaveri.

There are two other physical features that deserve notice. The great Chilka Lake in the centre of the coast-line occupies some 400 square miles, with its brackish and shallow waters scarcely separated from the sea. The sea itself breaks on a shelving coast of sandy shoals, and access is thus at all times difficult for any but the smallest boats, and even for those, at the height of the monsoon, somewhat perilous. To the north, however, in the north-west angle of the Bay of Bengal, the bed of the sea is muddier and flatter and access easier. There is a small port at Chandbali, ten miles up the Dhamra Estuary, and open roadsteads at Puri and Gopalpur. An attempt was being made when I left to bring back into use the port of Balasore.

RAIL AND ROAD

The major part of Orissa is enclosed in an equilateral triangle of main railways, the Calcutta-Madras line running close to the sea and very heavily bridged, the Calcutta-Bombay line running along the north, and the new Raipur-Vizagapatam line running from north-west to south-east. The central part of the triangle and the district of Koraput that lies outside the triangle are very ill-served. The need for good roads is thus apparent. The old Calcutta-Madras trunk road follows closely the alignment of the railway. It and the branch roads running towards the coast cross the tangle of deltaic rivers, and traffic is carried over them with difficulty by temporary tracks in the dry and by ferries in the rainy season. Two good roads link to the north with Jamshedpur and the coalfields, and another links Cuttack with Sambalpur. South Orissa is somewhat better served, but the roads there link rather with the Madras Presidency than with North Orissa.

The Mahanadi is navigable for country craft throughout Orissa, but rocks, and in the dry weather sand, prevent the passage of larger vessels. The Brahmani and the Baitarani are in much the same case. There used

to be a good deal of water-borne traffic along the canals, and some of these are still used, but others, notably the Coast Canal, have been abandoned

Air travel is in its infancy. Eighteen months ago the Civil Aviation Department were exploring the possibilities of airdromes at Cuttack and in the extreme north-west of Orissa. Mayurbhanj has a good airdrome, and one or two other States some attempt at one. I believe—and, I may add, hope—that there has been considerable activity in the interval.

Under British rule Orissa came to its own as a separate entity only six years ago. Three of its six districts—Cuttack, Puri and Balasore—were for a century part of Bengal and then for a quarter of a century part of Bihar and Orissa. The two southern districts, Ganjam and Koraput, had been for a century and a half part of the Presidency of Madras, while the sixth district, Sambalpur, had for over a century been bandied about from Bengal to the Central Provinces, back to Bengal and then to Bihar and Orissa.

A CULTURAL ENTITY

Yet, for all this, Orissa has had a separate cultural entity for a very long time indeed. The Edicts of Asoka were cut on the living rock at Dhauli in Puri district, and at Purushottapur, near the Madras boundary, about the year 250 B.C., and form almost the oldest historical document in India. The famous Edict XIII is *not* to be found here. That gives the story of the great Emperor's conquest of Orissa and how he repented him of the evil. No little evil, for 100,000 were slain and 150,000 carried away captive! But here *are* to be found the unique "Provincials" and "Borderers" Edicts, the one prescribing the conduct of the Emperor's officers in the more populous and civilized plains area, and the other their conduct in the wilder tracts above the Eastern Ghats. The idea of "partially excluded areas" administration is not a modern one!

Within a few miles of Dhauli are the Jain caves of Khandagiri and Udhayagiri. The earliest of these are dated as excavated ranging round about 150 B.C. That is the approximate date of the most interesting of them, the Hathigumpha, containing an inscription of King Kharavela. This king, a hundred years after Asoka's conquest, broke the power of the Mauryan Empire and carried war to the gates of Pataliputra (Patna) itself.

Hereafter contemporary historical documents fail us for more than a thousand years, save for a very brief mention by Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese traveller, which may be dated A.D. 640. This fact is the more astonishing since the oldest of the Bhubaneswar temples, also in Puri district, were probably built early in the eighth century A.D. The ruins at Khiching, deep in Mayurbhanj State, 150 miles to the north, are also of much the same date. These gems of architecture and of sculpture are evidence of strong government and aptitude for the arts, as clear as the Norman cathedrals of England. But the very existence of the Kesari dynasty, which according to some scholars flourished from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, and to which the Bhubaneswar temples are attributed, is hotly denied by other scholars. The attribution of the world-famed temple of Jagannath at Puri and its ruined rival at Konarak to the Ganga

dynasty is generally accepted. That dynasty lasted from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. But from time to time its fortunes were troubled by forays of the Delhi emperors and their generals seeking that engine of war, the elephant. The pressure was increased on the succeeding dynasties until in 1567 Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa, fell in battle. That king, who, by the way, was a Telegu, had made a treaty with Akbar, but that did not avail to save the coast districts of North Orissa from subjection to the Afghan generals of Bengal, or South Orissa from the practically independent kings of Golconda.

South Orissa exchanged the rule of Golconda for that of Aurangzeb, and then for that of the Nizam of Hyderabad, who in 1753 ceded it to the French as part of the Northern Circars. Twelve years later Clive obtained a better *de jure* title from Delhi and had by the force of his arms made it *de facto* by 1769.

North Orissa, on the other hand, after a long period during which it was the battle-ground of rival Afghan generals of Bengal, settled down, depleted of those Afghans, as one of the more orderly provinces of the Moghul Empire until well on into the eighteenth century.

It was in 1633 that the British first got into touch with Orissa. Ralph Cartwright landed, with his small company of the tiny ship *Hopewell*, on the Orissa coast, and in the steamy heat of late May reached Cuttack, the seat of the Moghul Governor. The tale of how Cartwright gained permission to establish a trade post is well told by his quartermaster, William Bruton.

“JUGGERNAUT”

And here I will make a digression. Probably the only thing that many people know, if they know that, about Orissa is that the temple of Jagannath is there. What they think they know is that pilgrims throw themselves under the wheels of Jagannath's car, or that they used to do so.

I read the other day a description of the relief felt by the people of London when the first Zeppelin was destroyed in the last war.

The author, a well-known journalist, wrote “Hitherto the people of London had felt like Hindus before a Juggernaut, doomed to destruction.” Most reasonably well-informed people now know that any deaths that have occurred at the Rath Jatra festivals—and there have been none for many years—were, except for a few suicides, due to accident. But few know who was the originator of the myth that self-immolation was a normal feature of that festival. I have heard the myth ascribed to the ignorance or malice of missionaries. But the real originator was our friend William Bruton, the quartermaster. He visited Puri in November, 1633 (the Rath Jatra festival falls in July), and he wrote that he had seen “the mighty pagoda, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry, where the greatest and best men of the town desperately lie down on the ground that the chariot wheel may run over them, and by this means they think to merit heaven.” The myth was repeated by other travellers with even less claim to be eye-witnesses. It was only scotched, not killed, by Sir William Hunter in 1870.

To return after this digression. In 1742 the Marathas

North Orissa The Maratha governors date from 1755, but the difference between raiding and government under Maratha rule in the last half of the eighteenth century was inconsiderable Stirling, writing twenty years after it had ended, describes Maratha administration as exhibiting "a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have kept together under so calamitous a tyranny" For the most part, the Oriyas of the plains offered to this tyranny non-violent resistance of the most approved pattern, and they were not rescued from its results until the British smashed the power of the Marathas and occupied the districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri during the latter part of the monsoon of 1803

Sambalpur has a separate history, which I have no time to recount It is linked with that of the States rather than with that of the Orissa coast

South Orissa, as I have explained, was, like Bengal, in British hands for nearly forty years before the North Orissa plains, the military bridge, was conquered It escaped, narrowly at times, the ravages of the Marathas and shared the fortunes of the Madras Presidency up till six years ago

North Orissa, with certain accretions from the States, brought about by the misdeeds of their rulers in the first half of the nineteenth century, shared the fortunes of Bengal till 1912, and thereafter till 1936 the fortunes of Bihar and Orissa Chief of these fortunes has been unbroken peace for over a hundred years Except in Sambalpur, the storm of the Mutiny scarcely ruffled the still waters of Orissa

Of misfortunes North Orissa has suffered, as it must have done for countless generations, the floods that seldom fail to bring, every four years or so, loss of crops, discomfort and sometimes disaster to the population and their live-stock In 1866 there was the major calamity of a great famine, unfortunately aggravated by grave want of foresight on the part of some local officers and of the remote and overburdened Government of Bengal South Orissa escaped the worst of this famine, and was and is immune from frequent serious floods In its hilly highlands the wilder aborigines have indulged from time to time in the local risings known as *fituris* Both North and South Orissa have suffered much from cholera and other epidemics and from the very numerous endemic maladies which made a distinguished medical officer describe North Orissa as "a pathological museum of tropical diseases" But otherwise for over a hundred years Oriyas have lived their lives in that pathetic contentment that so irritated the late Mr Montagu

British rule, whether based on Madras, Calcutta or Patna, has done much, too, though it has done it rather slowly, to improve conditions through irrigation, communications, education, medical aid, agrarian legislation and agricultural science. But, very naturally, Oriyas of spirit were not content that their countrymen should be either a small minority along with the Bengalis and Biharis, or an even smaller minority along with the Tamils and Telugus. The project of "Orissa for the Oriyas" was seriously considered by the Government of India as far back as 1868, no doubt in consequence of the failure of the Bengal Government over the famine two years earlier But relief for that overburdened Government

Active local interest in the project dates from 1903, when the Utkal Union Committee came into being. Lord Curzon was not unsympathetic, but in the end only the minor step of bringing in Sambalpur to share the fortunes of Bengal was taken in 1905. A more considerable attempt to satisfy the growing demand was made in 1912, when the province of Bihar and Orissa was formed. Orissa had no spokesman in the government of that province for ten years of the Morley-Minto régime. But in the fifteen years of the Montagu-Chelmsford régime there was first an Oriya Minister and then an Oriya Member of Council. Still the demand for separation, or at least for unification, of the Oriya-speaking tracts grew in force. In 1924 the Government of India deputed Mr Philip and Mr Duff to ascertain on the spot the attitude of Oriya inhabitants of the Madras Presidency towards amalgamation. Their most thorough enquiry supplied much of the material for an admirable survey of the problem, which my successor, Sir Hawthorne Lewis, prepared for the Simon Commission. I found it particularly admirable, since the Government of Bihar and Orissa accepted it as saying all that need be said, and I was thus relieved of the task of surveying the problem for that Government myself.

The Simon Commission was distinctly sympathetic to the claims of the Oriyas. I have often wondered whether that sympathy was not partly due to what I witnessed on the Patna platform when I met the Commission's train very early one November morning in 1928. That platform was brightly decorated with attractive posters by which the Utkal Union Committee displayed their welcome and advertised their claims. Outside there was a swaying mob of Bihari students quacking "Simon, go back!"

THE ORISSA STATES

It is unnecessary to describe the progress from the recommendations of the Simon Commission to the Order in Council which seven years later created the unified Orissa Province, of which I had the honour of being the first Governor. But I should like to say something more about the other half of Orissa, the twenty-four States with an area of 28,000 square miles and a population of some five millions. It will be seen at once that none of these States can be large—the largest is about the size of Yorkshire, the smallest about one-third of the size of Rutland.

Yet every one of these States has its separate "treaty engagement" with the Crown, several of them dating back to 1803. The Ruler engaged to render obedience, to hand over fugitive offenders, to give free passage to troops, and in many cases to pay tribute. Government in return acknowledged the engagement and promised "gracious consideration and protection." From time to time supplementary "sanads" have been issued and accepted, which specify the conditions subject to which the Ruler may govern. The control of the Crown was operated up to 1858 directly by the Government of India, and thereafter till 1933 through the Provincial Governments. For different States at different times these were the Governments of Bengal, of the Central Provinces and of Bihar and Orissa. In 1933 the Provincial Governments ceased to have political relations with these States, which were placed in direct relation with the Political Department of the Government of India. The control has been broadly summarized as

"extending to all important points, which, if not attended to, might lead to violent and general outrage and confusion or to contempt of the paramount authority of the British Government" Naturally, the degree of control has varied with the personalities of the Ruling Chiefs and with the policies of the British Government and its representatives in India

The origins of the different States are certainly various and to a great extent obscure Ranpur has a list of Chiefs going back for 3,600 years But for the most part the ancestors of the present Rulers gained their positions between 600 and 400 years ago some, Rajput soldiers of fortune returning from pilgrimage to Puri, and others, useful officials whom the dominant Power deemed worthy of a somewhat inexpensive reward They subdued, but never attempted to exterminate, the primitive inhabitants and, to a greater or less degree, brought in Oriyas from the coastal plains How far the broken and thickly wooded highlands, out of which these domains were carved, were at any given time effectively under central control it is difficult to say Asoka obviously claimed some authority "above Ghats" Stirling shows by quotation from original documents that Man Singh, Akbar's general, eighteen and a half centuries later, in his "allotment"—i.e., revenue settlement—placed under the Raja of Khurda the *zamindars* of areas, running roughly back to 100 miles from the coast But it is well to remember that exactly the same treatment was given to the *zamindars* of Northern Ganjam, who not very long after slipped away from a Moghul to a Golconda suzerainty

Until quite recently the States nearer to the sea were known as the Orissa Tributary Mahals It was only in 1888 that the Secretary of State accepted the decision of the Calcutta High Court that they were not part of British India The States which lie further than 100 miles from the sea must have been practically free from outside control till the middle of the eighteenth century, save for very occasional incursions from the kings of Orissa Most of them came under the suzerainty of one of their number, Patna (not to be confounded with the capital city of Bihar), and later of another, Sambalpur Certainly, save in the most shadowy sense, they never formed part of the Moghul Empire These States along with the Tributary Mahals had from 1755 to submit to the suzerainty of the Marathas, and exchanged that suzerainty for British in 1821, eighteen years after the Tributary Mahals had done so Under that suzerainty the dependence of the other States on Sambalpur was cancelled, and their individual sovereignty (a restricted sovereignty, no doubt) was fairly well established by 1867, while that of the Orissa Tributary Mahals remained in doubt for another fifteen years

The population of both groups of States has, on the whole, led an uneventful existence for the last three-quarters of a century It is largely composed, especially in the more westerly States (as, indeed, is the population of all Koraput and half Ganjam district), of aboriginal or semi-aboriginal tribes, who demand little from governments except to be left alone A few States have been notably well administered, a few again have suffered badly at times from the inhumanity or eccentricity of their Ruler, most lie between these extremes Almost all at one time or another have, for several years, been directly administered by officers of British

India in consequence of the minority or misconduct of the Ruler, and in these periods substantial progress has usually been made

I will now give a brief account of recent events and present problems

THE SEPARATED PROVINCE

For a year from April 1, 1936, I was administering the British Province of Orissa under the superintendence of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, but without any other guidance than that of a nominated Advisory Council. With a closely pruned budget and an exceedingly obscure vision of the probable results of the impending elections, there was little to be done except to get ahead with making the machine of government operate with reasonable smoothness. That was not too easy, as North Orissa derived its administrative traditions from Bihar and Orissa, and South Orissa from Madras. There were still unresolved anomalies when I retired five years later.

The elections gave the Congress party a comfortable majority of three to two. But here, as elsewhere, the leaders of the party at first declined to take office unless the Governor agreed in advance to refrain from exercising the closely restricted powers conferred upon him by the Constitutional Act. The present Premier of Orissa—for Orissa has now again a normal administration—stepped into the breach. Some three months later the Congress “High Command,” reassured by the Viceroy’s exposition of the Constitution, permitted their local followers to form a Ministry. This lasted for two and a half years, till that “High Command” decided in October, 1939, that Congress Ministries in the provinces should not function in war-time. Thus I had to resume full responsibility for another eighteen months. A split in the Congress ranks brought the prospect of a coalition Ministry rather near in November, 1940, and this prospect has been realized a year later under my successor.

Inside the province itself the peace was maintained and crime kept within bounds by the police force, which normally numbers only 4,000. No doubt the absence of any communal trouble, which in several other provinces was rampant, greatly helped. Muslims form less than 2 per cent of the population and have no serious grievances. But another factor in the case is the mild character of the Oriya. For nearly thirty-five years there was no military force whatever in the province, except for a few gunners engaged in testing guns and shells over the mud flats near Balasore. Hiuen Tsiang 1,300 years ago described the inhabitants of Orissa as valorous, and during the following 900 years their rulers were able to repel invaders and from time to time expand their dominions. But for the last 400 years the Oriyas have shown little martial spirit. Two years ago there was much talk of raising at least a battalion of Oriyas. The first step was to form a platoon of young men of some education as a nucleus of non-commissioned officers. But these were not forthcoming. The contribution to the man-power of India from Orissa when I left was limited to a few of the few Muslims, a few signallers recruited from the police, and two companies of pioneers.

It may be that the lack of military spirit can be ascribed to the hold on the Oriyas that the teaching of Chaitanya, the apostle of Neo-Vaishnavism,

gained and has retained for 400 years. Of the teaching of this Bengali saint Mr Banarji wrote in his history of Orissa "We must admit that Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of the empire and people of Orissa. Considered as a religion, Indian 'Bhakti-marga' is sublime, but its effect on the political status of the country or nation which accepts it is terrible. The religion of equality and love preached by Chaitanya brought in its train a false faith in men and thereby destroyed the structure of society and government."

FLOOD PROTECTION AND PUBLIC HEALTH

High up among the problems for any Government of Orissa is how to mitigate the damage caused by the floods. The Congress Ministry, after consulting some less fructuous advisers, appointed a small Committee of experts in 1938. This Committee politely disagreed with an earlier expert Committee that had recommended the abandonment of many of the embankments which have for generations protected the more fertile lands of the delta. They distrusted the theory that as a result the flood would spread like a film over the country, and so would do little harm while it gradually ran off into the sea. The more probable result would be a perpetual opening up of new channels. Their main proposal for action was the provision, in well-maintained embankments, of escapes which would direct the excess of water into predictable courses. No doubt this is an expensive business, since a well-designed escape costs £5,000 at least, and a great many are needed. But it will be money well spent.

In *The Times* a couple of days ago I noticed that it is proposed to spend £2,000,000 on preventing floods in the Fens. The Orissa deltas, three times as large with floods three times as frequent, could probably be protected for that sum.

Another object on which money, as it becomes available, can be profitably spent, almost without limit, is public health. I have already quoted the aphorism that Orissa is a pathological museum of tropical diseases. Cholera is no longer such an awful menace as it was before the inoculation of pilgrims on their way to Puri and the provision of a pure and ample water supply deprived that town of its pre-eminence as a focus of infection for most of India. But much less has been done to decrease the toll which malaria takes from the province in death and debility. It swings from north to south and back again every few years along the coastal plains, and is rampant in the highlands, even on the 3,000-foot plateau of Koraput. There nearly £10,000 has been spent on making the district headquarters moderately free from the disease. The distressing malady of yaws is very prevalent among the aboriginal tribes, and another £10,000 is being spent on what promises to be a specific. But no real remedy has yet been found for either hookworm or elephantiasis, which saps the energy of so many Oriyas. The campaign against leprosy, which has a greater incidence in Orissa than in any other part of India, now must cost some £5,000 annually. That sum would have to be multiplied by ten to stamp it out. Besides all this, there is need for drastic modernization of three out of the six hospitals at district headquarters. One is really

efficient and two others were being brought to such a state at the cost of £40,000

For badly needed improvement of communications £200,000 has been spent or earmarked mainly from the Central Road Fund, financed by the tax on petrol. At least as much again could be spent with great advantage on comparatively minor projects. For road bridges over the three great rivers in the coastal plains about a million pounds is needed

I have no time to indicate Orissa's needs in education—with only one in every five males and only one in every forty-five females reaching the lenient standard of census literacy—or in agriculture (the occupation of the vast majority of the people), or in industrial development (there are less than 10,000 people employed in factories and mines). Of mineral resources in sight the northern States have a very great deal indeed, but British Orissa has very little, though one hopes that the geologists, who were at work when I retired, may discover rich deposits. If these come to light, power for their extraction and utilization should be plentifully available from the magnificent falls of the Machkand River, on the border of Madras. That presidency is sharing with Orissa a detailed survey of this hydro-electric project. I would like time, too, for describing the beauties of this and many other parts of Orissa, which contains a variety of fine scenery, unequalled, I believe, in any other province

THE FUTURE

The province has made a fairly good start. I believe that two of the essential conditions for the successful working of a parliamentary democracy are the existence of two main parties not unequally balanced, and a considerable degree of fluidity between those parties. Orissa has seen the shift of one-fourth of its Congress members from that party. As a result the parties are now so equally balanced that the present Government saved its budget in seven divisions on a single day by one vote! These two conditions appear to be satisfied. If Orissa escapes the present threat to all India—and she is undoubtedly now not far from the front line—she should retain her place as an orderly and progressive province of that great country

One of the main menaces, apart from the Japanese, is, as I see it, that of spoliation and ruin of the landlord class, who, whatever they may do elsewhere in India, reside on their estates and do much to promote the welfare of their tenantry. I spent enough of my earlier years of service in trying to protect the rights of the tenants from landlords' encroachments to justify a feeling of satisfaction that in my closing years I could, without any regret, do something to prevent ill-considered and extreme action in the other direction

The other rock ahead of the Orissa Province is finance. I have mentioned sums which may seem infinitesimal to us, whose country is spending some fifteen million pounds a day. But Orissa's revenue is only about one-tenth of that sum a year, and more than one-fifth of that revenue is a subvention from the Central Government

Of the future of the Orissa States, too, I must say a little. When the Congress Ministry had been in power in the province for a year, unrest

began in some of the States, as it did in other States in India. By October, 1938, the trouble in one State was serious enough to require the despatch of troops, which temporarily restored the peace. But the trouble suddenly flared up again elsewhere when early in January, 1939, in a very petty and apparently quiet State, Major Bazalgette, the Political Agent, was brutally battered to death. The prompt despatch of British Orissa police, with the approval of the Ministry, followed by the posting of a considerable force of the regular army to Cuttack, to operate as required in the States, prevented the spread of disorder. But for the next five months some ten to twenty thousand out of another State's population of 70,000 decided to camp over the border in British India in order to draw attention to certain grievances.

NEED FOR STATES' CO-OPERATION

The unrest was, without question, organized by the Congress "High Command". That body was bent on compelling the Rulers of all States to agree to elections in the Federal Legislature with a view to securing Congress domination at the centre. The unrest was confined to less than half the twenty-four States, and was only serious in three. No doubt there were grievances that deserved attention, certainly a great deal of attention in one State. These were remedied.

But the main moral I would draw is the need for some clearer vision of the future of these States. If the substance of the scheme that Sir Stafford Cripps took to India is realized, it is difficult to see how twenty-four separate sovereign States, with an aggregate area less than that of Ireland and a population but little larger, can continue to operate. It would ill become us to repudiate the treaty engagements, made long ago by the agents of the Crown, and by implication approved by the British people. They have been observed with signal loyalty by the Rulers of the States, not by any means less conspicuously during the last three years.

But the Rulers themselves should be wise enough to seek *among themselves* some practical solution. The Viceroy, when addressing the Chamber of Princes last March, stressed the absolute necessity, so far as the smaller States are concerned, for some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative efficiency which is beyond their individual resources. He said that there were many States where no sign of this vital principle of co-operation has yet begun to emerge, and that, while he fully appreciated the sacrifice involved, he appreciated as well the gravity of the eventual consequences which his advice was designed to avert.

The Orissa States, or most of them, have made some advance by accepting a joint police force and at least the principle of one or more joint high courts. Most of them share the services of competent forest and education officers. But it looks very much as if this was not nearly enough in a rapidly changing world. For one thing, it seems most desirable that the Rulers of the States should do more than they now do to co-operate, especially in social services, with the Government of the province, seeing that the two territories are so closely interlinked geographically and culturally. And I may add that co-operation should be based on cordiality to be displayed by *both* sides.

I have sometimes wondered if the policy adopted ten years ago of bringing such States into direct relation with the officers of the Political Department was altogether wise. Perhaps Governors, who were at once the agents of the Crown Representative and the connecting link between the Governor-General and the provincial Ministries, might have done something to smooth out practical difficulties and sweeten relations. But whether that is true, or whether—which is much more important—any such plan could work in the not remote future, are questions which I can do no more than raise.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Wednesday, July 8, 1942, in the Assembly Hall, Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W C 2, when an address was given by Sir John Hubback, K C S I, on *Orissa, Past and Present*. Sir M. Azizul Huque, C I E, D Litt (High Commissioner for India), was in the chair.

In introducing the lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said that Sir John Hubback was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, and everyone who had been in India, particularly in Bihar and Orissa, knew his work and his record. The Indian Civil Service had played a very great part in India, and Sir John Hubback had made a very great contribution to the record of that Service. During the days of the earth quake in Bihar it was known that he did his utmost to help the sufferers. Apart from that, he was in the Settlement for some time, and the Chairman's own experience, both in Bihar and Bengal, went to show the valuable work done by the Settlement. Without it the position of the people of Bengal and Bihar would have been very sad, and their rehabilitation was largely due thereto.

After that Sir John went to Orissa, and he was responsible for Orissa's condition today. He was so indispensable that when the time came for him to leave for some time, it was something of a problem for the Viceroy as to who should be his successor.

Sir JOHN HUBBACK then read his paper.

Sir EDWARD GAIT congratulated Sir John Hubback on his paper. It had been specially interesting to him because it had recalled many pleasant experiences of his own. When Orissa was part of Bihar it was the practice of the Governor to reside there for six weeks in the year, and that annual visit was looked forward to very much. Part of the time was spent by the sea and part on tours inland. Visits were also paid to the Indian States, where there was everywhere something of interest to see.

In his time the claims of Orissa to have an independent administration were not regarded very seriously. The fact that it had a separate culture was undoubtedly its great temples with their characteristic architecture were outclassed by no others in India and it had its own script and language. It was estimated that in Puri alone there were still over 200,000 palm leaf manuscripts. But Orissa had a very small population and an exiguous revenue, from which it would be impossible to meet the cost of a separate administration. That seemed to settle the matter. No one thought in those days that the Imperial Government would ever be willing to provide the funds from central revenues.

Sir John had not mentioned how the new Government was functioning. What did the headquarters staff consist of? What secretariat was there, and were there separate whole time heads of departments as in the major Provinces? What was the result of the search for a new capital?

He agreed with what Sir John had said about the great practical inconvenience

which was caused when the political relations with the States were transferred from the Governor to the Central Government. The Orissa States were closely connected with British territory, and many of the smaller ones owed the fact that they were States at all to an accident. When the East India Company went to Orissa their proprietors differed in no way except their comparative remoteness from other land-holders who have always been treated as ordinary zamindars. The inscription which Sir John had mentioned was one of the most remarkable inscriptions in the whole of India, it contained a detailed contemporary account of the career and conquests of the king who ruled well over 2,000 years ago. It was in a very archaic script and was not deciphered until after many years of study. It was hoped, when the ancient remains at Dhauli and elsewhere were fully explored, that other useful inscriptions would be found. He was interested to learn that it had been found possible to form a composite Government. In most parts of India the Congress Party was so subservient that it would never differ from the central caucus, and one would like to know how the Oriyas found the courage to do so.

Sir COURTNEY LATIMER wished to make brief reference to the policy which was adopted of bringing such States as those of Orissa into direct relation with the Political Department. No doubt the facts were known to Sir John Hubback, but they might not be known to all, and it was perhaps worth while mentioning that the policy to which effect was given ten years ago in respect of the Orissa States was one which had been applied very much earlier. The decision to adopt this policy was a result of a recommendation made in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, following on representations to its authors in February, 1918, by the ruling organizations and the Princes generally in India, requesting that their relations might be directly with the Government of India in those cases where they were then with the local Government.

Accordingly, in 1921 the States of the Punjab were brought into direct relations with the Government of India, in 1923 the main Madras States, and in 1924 a number of Bombay States were brought into the same relation. That was merely a question of fact. The policy was decided a good deal more than ten years ago.

Another point worth mentioning was the grounds on which that decision was come to. It was quite clear, of course, that there were many advantages which a local Government had in dealing with States. It had amongst its officers men who knew the conditions of the Provinces, which were often very nearly allied to those of the States. But it was rather the form which constitutional development was taking in India which made this decision really necessary. The points which Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford brought out in their report were, first, that intermediaries were an obstacle to good understanding and the disposal of business (this was not, perhaps, in itself a conclusive objection), and, secondly, that relations with the States were a matter for all India and not a provincial concern. They went on to say that, even in cases where the head of the local Government was left for a time as agent of the Central Government, relations with States should not be matters of provincial concern in the sense that they were to be transferred to the control of the Legislative Council. That was what the States were afraid of, as they saw the shadow of provincial autonomy thrown in front of them, they feared that the Provincial Government was to be the arbiter of treaties which had been concluded (apart from the case of the Orissa States, which, as Sir Edward Gait had mentioned, became States as it were by accident) with the Crown or the Central Government, and they were afraid that any local authority might disregard those treaties. He thought on that point that the decision taken at the time was right, and subsequent constitutional development in the shape of the Government of India Act of 1935 made it inevitable.

What had happened in the Government of India Act, 1935? It was laid down that two offices should be created, although held by one individual—the office of Governor-General and the office of Crown Representative—and when it was enacted, as it was in a section of the 1935 Act, that relations with the States should be conducted in India solely by the Crown Representative or by officers acting under his orders, one saw the difficulty of any other arrangement. The difficulty was emphasized during discussions in Simla on the question of making arrangements with Governors to perform agency functions in neighbouring States, and the trouble was that, although the Governor himself could act under the instructions of the Crown

Representative, he had no officer under him, other than his own secretary, in regard to whom the local Government would not have to be committed, and the Governor would not be justified in acting on his own responsibility in most of the matters in which such agency arrangements might be considered desirable

RAJKUMAR PAPULLA BHANJ DEO OF MAYURBHANJ was very interested to hear Sir John Hubback mention Khiching, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj State, as he (the speaker) belonged to the ruling House of that State. The beautiful sculpture of Khiching, of which he spoke quite correctly in the same breath as the superb architecture of Bhubaneshwar (with which, indeed, it could also be truly compared), was similar to that architecture. This similarity between the Bhubaneshwar temples and Khiching culture was borne out also by the customs and traditions of the ruling House of Ganga, which showed a definite connection with the culture of Khiching. In this connection might he ask Sir John Hubback what were the opinions of those scholars who disputed the existence of the Kesari dynasty of Orissa to whom the magnificent sculpture of Orissa was ascribed?

SIR JOHN CUMMING said that, as one who used to ride along the grand trunk road of Orissa about fifty years ago, and whose memories had been evoked by the lecture, he might be permitted to offer Sir John hearty congratulations on what had been an interesting, thoughtful, comprehensive, and authoritative paper. The Oriyas were a very kindly, peaceful people, and the British officers who had been associated with them had always been very fond of them. It was an interesting fact that those who in the forties, fifties, and sixties of last century, and perhaps later, had first hand experience of them had left very interesting records which showed a very keen respect for the history of the Oriyas and a desire to know more of it.

The great feat of the British in Orissa, quite apart from the fact that for well over a century internal peace had been maintained after a period when the Oriyas had to face enemies and aggressors from the west, the north west, and central India, was that they had fought the three enemies of the Oriyas—flood, drought, and disease. The lecturer had drawn attention to this. On the subject of the tributary States, he had visited one of them, and in view of what had been said by Sir Courtney it would ill become him to say anything, but as an ex member of the Service he would say that any future arrangement must not be unilateral.

SIR JOHN HUBBACK, in reply, said that Sir Edward Gait thought he might have said a little more as to how the Government had been functioning during the last five years. But he had an idea if he started on that he might be expected to bless that Government altogether, and he felt he was rather in the reverse position of the prophet Balaam, who was called upon to curse the Israelites and then, induced by the words of his ass, to bless them. That consideration decided him to adopt the more normal behaviour of the prophet's steed.

He was also asked whether he could give a description of how the Secretariat functioned. It started quite small, but was gradually expanding, and he expected that it would continue to do so. The Secretariat had worked very well under very grave disadvantages. There was not a new capital, and they had to get along with what they could, the reason being that the decision had to be taken by the popular Government, and after a great deal of discussion it was decided that the Government should be at Cuttack, plus a place called Chaudwar, just across the river. But it would cost Rs 30 lakhs to build a bridge across the river, and as the Government had not got Rs 30 lakhs and the Central Government of India would not give it, the bridge could not be built!

Sir Courtney Latimer certainly had added very much to the information on which the end of his paper was based, but he still wondered whether it was altogether wise to bring the Orissa States into direct relations with the Political Department. It might have been wise elsewhere, and he understood it was started elsewhere fifteen years before the policy was applied in Orissa. During those fifteen years there was the beginning of some sort of picture of how the new constitutional Government would work. In the special conditions of Orissa he thought he could have done something to smooth down relations there.

Sir John said he was very pleased to hear Rajkumar Bhanji Deo talking about Khichung. The Maharaja very kindly invited him to visit him during his last few months in Orissa, and he spent a very delightful day with him out in the wilds about 150 miles from Cuttack. There was a beautiful temple there which the Maharaja had been rebuilding from the original stones. One of the most interesting things was the way he did it by means of a ramp, with the stones taken up by hand and put in place. That was probably the way in which the original structure was made.

With regard to the Kesari dynasty, he gathered that it was disputed whether it ever existed, but he personally thought the balance was in favour of its existence, and he did not quite understand why there was any doubt thrown on it.

The Chairman was good enough to refer to his Settlement experience, he was a *chela* of Sir John Cumming's in the Bihar Settlement, and it was a great delight to the speaker to lecture before him today and to hear his pleasant remarks.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was a matter of great satisfaction that Sir John Hubback had opened up matters which all had at some time to think about. Sir John had put a vista before them of post war problems—political, social, economic, and otherwise. He sometimes wondered what should be the political entity of a Province, whether it should coincide with the cultural history or whether separate cultural units should be added together in a provincial unit. The question of finance had also to be looked into.

The problems of flood, of health, of education of these 8½ million people had to be tackled quite apart from the transport problem—whether it should be railways, roads, or water. These had to be visualized, and he warmly congratulated Sir John in placing before the meeting so many illuminating facts to be thought about. Some people classified themselves as historians, and India had suffered from them, but when the true history of the Kesari dynasty came to be written they would be proud of it.

He visited Orissa some years ago on the question of Muslim education, and he found it was a difficult problem because, as the lecturer had said, the Muslims were in a very small minority and it was difficult for them to have a school or college where they could learn their own language. It was expensive to have two schools set up side by side.

Other problems about which there might be a good deal of controversy was whether it was wise that the States should be placed in contact with the Provincial Governments or with the Central Government. He believed Sir John Hubback's attitude was from the point of view of reality, and the attitude of the Central Government was from the point of strict constitutional purity. That was a position which sometimes had inevitably to be faced.

Major-General Sir FREDERICK SYKES, M.P., proposed a vote of thanks to a most admirable partnership on the platform, that of the Chairman and speaker. They had both given the audience much to think of. Not everybody realized the intricacies of the Orissa question, and, speaking personally, he had learned a great deal from the lecturer. The question of the geographical boundaries of the Province was of immense importance, and the Simon Commission was quite right when it suggested that there should be a Boundary Commission set up to inquire into the various Provinces, as to whether the boundaries should be modified or whether they should be left as they were. It was a big question and one on which most of them had fairly strong views.

Another problem was that of political relationships with the Indian States, there again most had fairly strong views. The political officer as such was responsible, and must be responsible as the representative of the Crown for the Indian States, but there were many arguments on the other side put forward by Sir John Hubback and other speakers. There was ground for suggesting that a compromise might have been possible whereby the details and troubles of day to day might have been dealt with by the Governor of the Province concerned, with the bigger problems referred to the Centre. He did not see why some such compromise should not be possible. Some of the smaller States would have welcomed it, he thought. Another trouble was that the finances of the less affluent States would not permit of frequent visits of their Rulers to Delhi or Simla.

MISS ROSIE NEWMAN'S FILM PRESENTATION "ENGLAND AT WAR"

THE Council of the Association gave a reception at the Imperial Institute on June 18 to meet Mrs L S Amery and to see Miss Rosie Newman's new film "England at War" This was the second presentation, for the first, at the Dorchester, Park Lane, a fortnight earlier, was in aid of the funds of the British Red Cross and the Order of St John of Jerusalem, no less than £350 being raised The guests at the Imperial Institute, numbering some 250, were received by Lady (Frederick) Sykes, Mrs Amery and Sir John and Lady Woodhead They included a number of members of the Indian Contingent in this country, with their commandant, Lieut-Colonel Reginald Hills, Indian members of the Pioneer Corps, Indian airmen and Indian naval and mercantile marine officers and men

Before the film was shown, Mrs AMERY made a short introductory speech commending the courage, enthusiasm and enterprise which had enabled Miss Newman to provide so detailed a pictorial account of the Home war effort on land and sea and in the air, as also in the factories, and the generosity whereby in showing her various films Miss Newman had raised more than £8,000 for war and other charities They were met on June 18, and it might well be recalled that it was the anniversary of the day, 127 years ago, when the British square at Waterloo brought the ambitions of a dictator for world conquest to an end It was also on June 18 two years ago that Mr Churchill in a stirring call to the nation said there would be work and sacrifice for every man and woman in this country They would see that afternoon how widespread and united the response had been Miss Newman's camera had recorded the manifold activities and trials of England at war

Miss Newman, in briefly introducing her film, said that she could not have presented such a record without the generous help of the authorities of the fighting and other services in providing her with all necessary facilities It was requisite, in view of the social hour to follow, to omit passages of the film, but in the presence of members of the Indian Contingent she would take care not to leave out the record of a delightful day she spent with the Contingent, under the kindly guidance of the commandant

At the half way interval, Mrs AMERY announced that Miss Newman had kindly provided a considerable number of copies of her book *England at War* to be on sale and for the entire proceeds to be given to the Indian Comforts Fund She (Mrs Amery) suggested that the book, reproducing some of the beautiful colour effects of the film, would make an acceptable Christmas present and might be bought and kept for that purpose She went on to give a few particulars of the beneficent work of the Fund in looking after Indians of the fighting services, of the mercantile marine and prisoners of war She expressed her thanks to the new High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Huque, present with them that day, for continuing so readily the facilities whereby his predecessor placed so large a part of India House at the disposal of the Fund for the varied work of the centre of the organization

At the close of the film, the Duke of DEVONSHIRE voiced the thanks of the guests to the East India Association for providing the reception, to Mrs Amery for presiding and to Miss Newman for her beautiful film and the presentation of the books for the Indian Comforts Fund

During the serving of refreshments the 100 copies of *England at War* given by Miss Newman were offered for sale at 5s per copy by Mrs Rodney, Miss Enid Keymer and Miss Margaret Brown They were all sold In some instances currency notes were given without change being asked for, and the sum of £30 was raised and sent to the Indian Comforts Fund

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1942

THE Association completed three-quarters of a century of existence at a time when, through the entry of Japan into the war, India was exposed to graver peril than at any previous date within that long period. The year under review saw the invasion and occupation of Burma, the seizure of the Andaman Islands, and air attacks on two ports on the eastern coast of India. With the approach of hostilities to the sub-continent the political situation in India attracted constantly increasing attention, not only in Britain, but also throughout the world. It was to the discussion and elucidation of the questions of policy thus presented that the programme of the Association was mainly directed.

BURMA

Four of the gatherings of the year had relation to Burma—two of them after Japan's entry into the war. In July, shortly after his return from the Governorship of that country, Commander Sir Archibald Cochrane spoke on 'Burma in War time' at a social meeting held jointly with the Royal Empire Society. Dr Wellington Koo, who had just arrived to take up his appointment as Chinese Ambassador, spoke on this occasion and received a most cordial welcome. Early in November, also in association with the Royal Empire Society, a largely attended luncheon was given in honour of U Saw, Prime Minister of Burma, and Mr Amery, Secretary of State for India, was in the chair.

Following the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East, the critical situation in Burma and Indian reactions to Japanese aggression were under consideration in February, when Mr R. H. Parker, late of the I.C.S., Bengal, provided a paper on "India and the Japanese Adventure". At the end of April Sir Henry Craw, until very recently Counsellor to the Governor of Burma, gave a most informing exposition of the military, geographical, and other factors governing the operations in Burma. On both occasions Dr Liang Yuen Li, First Secretary at the Chinese Embassy, took part in the proceedings, and expressed his confidence in the power of the United Nations to stem the tide of invasion and win back occupied territory.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS

The growing attention paid to the Indian political situation was reflected in most of the papers and discussions of the year. Early in May Sir George Schuster, M.P., expounded his views as to the methods by which a settlement of the existing deadlock might be reached. A fortnight later Mr Arthur Moore, editor of the *Statesman*, spoke on the same problem, with particular reference to the possibility of a much greater contribution by India to the war effort. Further light was thrown on the subject in July when Sir William Barton gave his impressions of the Indian political scene, formed on the occasion of a recent visit. Later in the month Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., gave a trenchant and outspoken survey of the conflicting claims of the various political organizations.

At the first meeting of the autumn session in October, consideration was given to the views expressed and the suggestions contained in a book by Sir George Schuster, M.P., and Mr Guy Wint entitled 'India and Democracy', which had attracted much attention. Sir George himself opened an animated debate. In November discussion of the book was renewed on the reading of a paper by Sir Frank Noyce. In March Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah expounded the political aims of Muslim India, and gave the story, little known in this country, of the evolution of the Pakistan

plan as adopted by the All India Muslim League. The thoughtful and informative paper read by Mr K. Kuriyan in January on the present and future international status of India had a direct bearing on the current political controversies.

On the announcement of the mission to India of Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, to seek the agreement of the political leaders on the draft Declaration of the Cabinet, the Council refrained from arranging meetings on the issues thus raised. Following the conclusion of the mission, the withdrawal of the draft Declaration, and the Lord Privy Seal's statement in Parliament, arrangements were made for a discussion, which took place a few days after the close of the year under report.

OTHER TOPICS

The range and importance of India's military contribution to the war effort were brought into strong relief in a paper by Mr Edwin Haward early in April on 'The Indian Army and the Future,' and the occasion was marked by an important speech from the chair by Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode. But the more abiding problems of India were not overlooked in thoughts of present dangers. In December Sir Malcolm Darling gave the Association the benefit of his intimate knowledge of the Indian countryside in an illuminating paper on 'The Indian Peasant and the Modern World.' At a joint meeting with the Royal Empire Society in April Mrs S. E. Runganadhan presented a comprehensive and encouraging account of progress under the title of 'Indian Women of Today.' Two joint meetings with the Royal Society of Arts were especially valuable from the economic point of view. In November Sir Bernard Darling described in detail the more recent developments of irrigation in India, and in January Sir Bryce Burt outlined with skill and full knowledge the agricultural progress of the country during the decade preceding the outbreak of war.

The Council records its thanks to the distinguished persons who presided on these occasions, and whose names will be found in the list of lectures and meetings in Appendix A.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

The generous annual grants of H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and H.H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior have enabled the Council to maintain social activities under the difficult conditions of these days. The Association continues to be represented on the Empire Services War Hospital Committee, under the chairmanship of Field Marshal Lord Milne, by Sir Thomas Smith on the Executive and Finance Committee, and by Sir Frank Brown on the General Committee. Indian members of the Forces share in the facilities and amenities provided by the organization.

The Imperial Institute was the scene of two pleasant social gatherings. In May Mr and Mrs Amery were the guests of honour at a presentation of colour films of India prepared by the Lawrence Thaw Photographic Expedition. The expedition was equipped by Mr Thaw, the well known American traveller, at great cost, and the pictorial results were very beautiful. Mr M. L. Nathan's fine colour film of Burma was also shown. For a meeting in July the Director of the Institute, Sir Harry Lindsay, joined in the issue of invitations. The assembled company was conducted by Sir Harry and his staff round the India, Burma, and Ceylon Courts, and this was followed by a display of films of those countries, including Lady Cochrane's colour film of the Shan States.

The outstanding social function of the year was the large reception at Grosvenor House in May, to meet Lord Willingdon, the new President, and Lady Willingdon, and also to honour members of the Indian Contingent and Indian officers of H.M. Forces. Lieut-Colonel Reginald Hills, the commandant of the contingent, spoke of its experiences in France and this country. From the chair Mr Amery voiced the feelings of strong attachment to "the firm of Willingdon and Willingdon" enter-

tained by all members of the Association. The speech of the new President was inspired by the love of India and esteem for her people which had been such a marked feature of his service first as Governor of Bombay, then as Governor of Madras, and later as Viceroy of India. Lord Willingdon presided at the annual general meeting in July, and both then and at Sir William Barton's subsequent lecture expressed the hope that, having fulfilled a series of Empire missions, he would now as our President be able to look into the affairs of India more closely, and help in the solving of her problems.

THE PRESIDENTSHIP

This hope was not to be realized. In less than a month after taking part in a subsequent meeting Lord Willingdon was attacked by pneumonia and passed away. The grief of the many friends of 'the Willingdons' in all parts of the world was shared to the full by all our members. Appropriate expression was given thereto in a resolution of the Council communicated to Lady Willingdon. Notwithstanding her irreparable loss, she has continued her interest in the work of the Association, and accepted the invitation of the Council to become a Vice President. She is the first lady to fill that office since the formation of the Association.

Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, M.P., for some years past a Vice President, was unanimously invited to fill the vacant office. His acceptance of the position was heartily welcomed, and it is worthy of note that Sir Frederick is the fourth ex-Governor of Bombay to be President in succession. The Council decided to make three years the normal period of occupancy of the presidential chair.

OBITUARY

During the year three of the most senior Vice Presidents died—namely, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, H.H. the veteran Maharao of Cutch, and the Maharajadhi-
raja of Burdwan. The last named was a member of the Council for some years during residence in London and on several occasions he generously entertained the members at afternoon receptions. The obituary list includes other distinguished names, amongst them being those of the Right Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Hugh Stephenson, Sir Edward Blunt, Sir Reginald Mant, Sir Selwyn Fremantle, and Mr C. E. Buckland, who was the oldest member of the Association and father of the I.C.S.

THE COUNCIL

Mr E. Raghavendra Rao resigned his seat in the Council on leaving London in the early autumn to take up his appointment as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Other resignations were those of Sir Hubert Carr and Mr Hugh Molson, M.P. (both on grounds of war service), and Mr Stanley Rice, whose valuable work in former years as Hon. Secretary was recognized by his election to be an honorary life member of the Association. The co-options to the Council during the year were those of Mr S. Lall (Deputy High Commissioner for India), Sir Gilbert Hogg, Lady Hartog, Sir William Barton, and Sir Gilbert Wiles. The members of the Council retiring by rotation and eligible for re-election are Sir Frank Brown, Sir Louis Dane, Mr P. K. Dutt, Mr Frederick Richter, Diwan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, and Mr John de La Valette. It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election at the annual general meeting, subject to fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary.

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE

For the first time over a considerable series of years the last annual report showed a small net decline in membership, arising from war conditions, and notably from the delays and uncertainties of sea and air communications with India. This year though

thereby, amid the difficulties of war, to maintain this part of our work. I regret that I could not be at the Imperial Institute reception last month, when Miss Jessie Newman showed her beautiful film of "England at War," and we were happy to entertain many Indian members of the fighting Services. Miss Newman kindly provided 100 copies of her book descriptive of the film and with illustrations therefrom. They were all sold, and we had the satisfaction of sending Mrs. Amery the full gross amount of £30 for her so valuable Indian Comforts Fund.

The tribulations of war have included prolonged delay in the receipt of members' subscriptions from India, and the loss of not a few in transit by enemy action. Some of our Indian members have wisely resorted to telegraphic transfers, and I hope their example will be followed by others. To members in both countries who pay by cheque I would strongly recommend, in the interests of convenience and economy, the use of bankers' orders. And as our main reliance has to be on home members, I would like to remind you of the help afforded to the Association by family membership. We have a volunteer in this matter today. Among the names of new members whose election is to be confirmed by this meeting is that of my wife. The larger our membership the greater is the service we can render to India. Members get a very full return for the modest subscription, and overhead outlay is remarkably small for an organization which does so much.

I am sure all of you will have heard with pleasure of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, which is now for the first time to include representatives of two important communities—the Sikhs and the Depressed Classes. India has now the strongest and most representative Executive Council ever forming the Central Government of India. One of the selections which directly concerns ourselves is the appointment of Sir Firoz Khan Noon as Defence Member. This is a fresh landmark in India's constitutional progress, and will be especially welcomed by those of us who remember Sir Firoz Khan's fine work as High Commissioner for India, and the lively interest which he took in the East India Association.

I cannot conclude without a reference to the admirable work of our own Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown. It is difficult to think of the Association without him for over fifteen years he has been its life and soul. It is very largely due to his exertions that our financial position is so sound, and he has been indefatigable in arranging meetings, securing first rate speakers to address them, gaining members, editing our Proceedings, and, last but not least, in bringing members together at our social gatherings.

In this connection I wish to express our deep regret that Mr. King, a most faithful servant of ours for forty years past, is seriously ill. At the beginning of May he entered hospital and has since undergone three operations. We shall unite in sending him our sympathetic regards and best wishes for early and satisfactory recovery. We are grateful to one of our lady members, Mrs. Milward, for kindly taking Mr. King's place in the office on payment of what amounts to little more than her out-of-pocket expenses. Even so, the absence of one with such long experience as Mr. King of every detail of the work is much felt, more especially, I am sure, by the Honorary Secretary.

Lord CARRO formally moved "That the Annual Report of the Council and the Accounts for the year 1941-42 be adopted."

Sir M. AZIZUL HUQUE (High Commissioner for India) had pleasure in seconding the proposal. He felt he could not do justice to the subject without speaking of the enduring work carried on by the East India Association. It was doing considerable service in helping to keep England and India together and to create a better atmosphere of good feeling and genuine friendship—a factor of very great value. Warriors and heroes created an empire, but men were also required to keep the Empire together, and the Association was performing this task very efficiently. There was a very great need for an organization such as this. India had to be understood, its welfare looked into and its proper relationship with England determined. With the knowledge which the Association had, and with the aid of those linked with it, it would certainly be able to fix the proper balance between India and England.

With regard to Sir Frank Brown, the indefatigable Secretary, he did not know

his age, but whatever it was it would be agreed that he had a youthful vigour which was visible in all his activities

The resolution was carried unanimously

THE PRESIDENT

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE moved ' That the election by the Council as President for a term of three years of Major-General the Right Hon Sir Frederick Sykes be confirmed

He said that the Chairman had mentioned the Association's great loss by the death of their beloved President, Lord Willingdon, which created a difficult position for the Council in choosing a successor. In approaching Sir Frederick Sykes the Council knew he was a very busy man and it might be difficult for him to take the office, but with his usual deep interest in India he came to their help. All knew of the great work Sir Frederick did as Governor of Bombay, as well as his interest in the welfare of the working-class, both rural and urban, in India. Since his retirement he had maintained close contact with India and Indians. Although the speaker was not a Bombay man, he felt that the fact that Sir Frederick had been Governor of Bombay was a recommendation in view of an esteemed founder of the Association, Dadabhai Naoroji, having belonged to Bombay. As the Chairmen of the Association for many years were former Governors of Bombay, Sir Frederick Sykes would appropriately maintain the high traditions of the office. The Council were very gratified that his gracious lady had now joined the ranks of the Association.

Mr HUGH MOLSON, M.P., seconded the motion with pleasure. The Association had always secured distinguished men as its Presidents, and there had never been elected to the Chair a man with a longer, or wider, or more distinguished career than Sir Frederick. He was one of the few who could speak in the House of Commons with the special authority which attached to one who had been Chief of the Air Staff and as a pro-consul, and since his return to this country from India he had continued to devote himself to public work of great importance. It was most appropriate, when so much thought was being devoted to conditions in India, that Sir Frederick, who, ever since Lord Chelmsford's death, had been Chairman of the Miners Welfare Committee in this country, should be elected President of the Association. When Sir Frederick spoke in the House of Commons, which he did only too rarely, he was always listened to as one who spoke with expert knowledge and ripe wisdom on the many subjects with which he had been familiar throughout his career.

Mr MOLSON put the resolution and it was carried unanimously.

Sir FREDERICK SYKES, in acknowledgment, said that it would not be easy for him to live up to the 'beginnings from Bombay'. Bombay was a very stalwart Presidency, and he was sure he would be supported by all his Bombay friends. The Association had conferred a great honour upon him and he would do his utmost to merit their confidence.

Sir HARRY HAIG proposed "That the following Members of Council, retiring by rotation—Sir Frank Brown, Sir Louis Dane, Mr P K Dutt, Mr F Richter, Dewan Bahadur S E Runganadhan, and Mr John de La Valette—be re-elected, that the co-option by the Council of Mr S Lall, Lady Hartog, Sir William Barton and Sir Gilbert Wiles be confirmed, and that Mr Hugh Molson, M.P., be elected a member of the Council".

He said if the meeting approved of this proposal it would show that they approved of the manner in which the Council had been conducting its business during the past year. He spoke not so much as a member of the Council, but rather as an absent friend. It had kept up the activities and the interest in the Association in very difficult times when many factors were working against an Association such as this.

Included in the names were those of Sir Louis Dane, who, by his support and interest through the years, had added strength to the work of the Association, and Sir Frank Brown, whose praises they had already heard. He was the mainspring of the Association, his unfailing initiative kept the Association a live organization.

With regard to the work of the Association, he was convinced that it was performing a very valuable function in keeping the problems of India before the public, which was often rather inadequately informed

SIR HENRY CRAW seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously

THE HONORARY SECRETARY

SIR JOHN WOODHEAD moved a vote of thanks to Sir Frank Brown, the Honorary Secretary. It was fifteen years since he undertook the duties of the honorary secretaryship, and they owed him a great debt of gratitude for all that he had done for the Association—the time he had spent in furthering its objects, and the tremendous energy and persistence he had shown in arranging for lectures, obtaining new members and maintaining the Association's financial position.

It had been usual to repay that debt by expressing thanks to him in a paragraph in the Annual Report, but the proposal he was now making took the place of that, and he welcomed the change because it was more personal and gave a better opportunity of conveying their appreciation of all Sir Frank did for the Association.

During the fifteen years of Sir Frank's service 300 meetings had been held and he had attended 299, the single absence being due to illness, also the membership had almost doubled. These were two records of which Sir Frank might be justly proud. The Association had suffered very little from the war, contrary to expectations, meetings had been held, the membership was increased and their financial position as good as when the war broke out. All this was a tremendous proof of the energy and enterprise of the Honorary Secretary. They welcomed this opportunity of expressing grateful thanks to him for all that he had done for so many years.

SIR THOMAS SMITH seconded, and the vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

SIR FRANK BROWN, in acknowledgment, said his personal preference was against this innovation. It had always been his endeavour to get other people to talk rather than himself and his voice had seldom been heard at their meetings, but Sir John Woodhead had insisted on this new departure. He was grateful for the kind references made to his work for the Association by the President and other speakers. It had been a pleasure and privilege for him to render that service to India. In its discharge he had been fortunate in many ways, especially in regard to the faithful and loyal service rendered by Mr King to the Association for over forty years. He was pleased to report that Mr King was now gradually recovering, and it was hoped before many weeks had passed he would be able to return to the office.

The success of the Association did not depend upon the Secretary alone, but upon the co-operation of its members as reflected in the work of the Council, and he had been very fortunate in this respect. He had served under four Chairmen, beginning with Sir Louis Dane, whom they welcomed that day, and from all of them he had received every assistance and help. The present Chairman, Sir John Woodhead, took his duties seriously, and no week passed without their conferring together on current business. Sir John's help and advice were invaluable, and he thought the Association should pass a vote of thanks to the Chairman as well as to himself.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

MR S E RUNGANADHAN moved approval of the provisional election of one life member and twelve ordinary members. He said that the Association heartily welcomed these recruits.

LORD ERSKINE, in seconding, said that he hoped they would get more new members. This was a very important period in the history of England and India, and the more members the Association had the more would it be able to show the population in this country what the position really was as between England and India. There was much misconception in both countries, and the more adequately the Association was maintained the more likely were they to understand each other's point of view.

The resolution was carried unanimously, the meeting closed, and refreshments were served.

MALAYA A RETROSPECT

By G E CATOR, C M G

To those who know and love Malaya the early days of 1942 were a nightmare from which we hoped each morning to awake, but that morning has not yet dawned, and it is time to take stock of the catastrophe, to ascertain what British protection has achieved in Malaya and where it has failed, so that when the day of recovery comes our successors may be able to profit by this bitter experience.

The time has not yet come and the evidence is not available to assess the purely military aspects of the defeat.

The attack was made in sufficient force and with adequate skill to crush into capitulation in ten weeks the forces which the British Empire could dispose for the defence of an economically and strategically vital point, and we may safely assume that those forces fought with resolution.

It has, however, been suggested that the disaster was in part due to the apathy and indifference of the Asiatic population or to something worse. One authority has stated that British administration had no roots in the country, and another writer says, "The Malayan population made matters so hot for the British that they had to retreat faster than the Japanese could advance."

It is interesting to consider how far these criticisms are justified.

As regards the allegation of active hostility, it is no use countering one rash statement by another equally rash, and it may be said at once that those who could give the most valuable evidence on this point are not available, being prisoners of war. I have, however, interviewed hundreds of women and a few men, many of whom made that doleful pilgrimage down the peninsula, and of these not more than two or three have commented adversely on the attitude of the Asiatic population. These said that groups of Asiatics spat as they passed and made contemptuous remarks. When one remembers that these women and children were largely at the mercy of the Asiatic population (and certainly at the mercy of their tongues) and that these same Asiatics may not unreasonably have felt that they were being abandoned by the people who had promised their protection, the absence of any evidence of overt hostility is striking.

It is improbable that the Asiatics gave any material assistance to the Japanese military operations. In a country where nearly twenty different races are included in the population, it would be a miracle if there were no potential fifth columnists and no opportunists anxious to rush to the rescue of the winners, but it is contrary to experience that there was any considerable movement in favour of the Japanese. A characteristic of the Malay is loyalty, and there is no reason to question the genuineness of Malay loyalty to the British connection, the hatred of the Chinese for the Japanese is deep-rooted, and Malays and Chinese form together 80 per cent of the population.

It may be added that the stories of a contemptuous or derisive attitude which I have heard are more than offset by stories of faithfulness and of assistance given by Malays and Chinese alike to those unfortunates who, having escaped the perils of the land, were exposed to the even greater perils by sea.

The criticism that British administration had established no roots in the country contains an element of truth, but before we start throwing stones at the Asiatic population for indifference or apathy or at the British administration for failing to instil a more militant and aggressive attitude, it is well to bear in mind the circumstances.

The Malayan campaign lasted ten weeks and represented a period of unbroken and continuous retreat of the British armed forces and the withdrawal of all British civilians, official and unofficial alike. The whole population had been well primed by the official Information Service with stories (designed to show the fortitude of the people of Great Britain) of the terrific damage done by air bombardment, and the Chinese element of the population could confirm at first or second hand these stories from the experience of their own country. Was it likely, in the short time available,

that the Asiatic population would overcome the paralysis which numbed the Belgian, Dutch and French civilians in similar circumstances?

It is sometimes forgotten, too, that not many months ago in our own country every shop, office and bank closed as soon as the sirens sounded, and we all hastened to our communal or individual hiding holes. It was only when experience enabled us to gauge the extent of the danger that we became bolder.

It is reasonable to believe (and certainly more charitable and less self righteous) that had the civilians of Malaya a similar opportunity they would also have risen to the occasion, after all, the population of China has shown that courage and endurance are not European monopolies.

There is evidence that the Malay Regiment fought with gallantry, and in Singapore the Asiatic Civil Defence personnel undoubtedly stood up to their task with courage and devotion.

The essence of the charge of failure to establish roots is that we had not succeeded in making Malaya a nation. The reply is that a nation is not made but grows, and growth takes time.

Both the constitution and the racial composition of Malaya are unusual.

Only the Colony of the Straits Settlements, consisting of the islands of Singapore, Penang, and of Malacca on the mainland, are British territory. Except for Malacca, the mainland of Malaya consists of nine native states each under its own ruler. The political relations of each state with the British Government are regulated by treaty.

The population of Malaya, totalling some 5,000,000 persons, includes, as has been said, representatives of some twenty races, of which the dominating elements are Malays 40 per cent, Chinese 40 per cent, and Southern Indians 15 per cent.

It is not a simple task to create a nation out of this cosmopolis.

Relatively—and purely relatively—the task is easiest in the Straits Settlements, for there the population is more or less homogeneous, being predominantly Chinese, but even there the Chinese element is largely migrant and not static, so that a majority of the inhabitants are not British subjects in law.

The inhabitants of Singapore and Penang regard themselves as citizens of no mean city, and those who by birth or choice are British subjects are proud and conscious of the dignity and responsibility of that status and all alike have felt it a privilege to live under the British flag.

There was emerging a sense of corporate unity in each Settlement, but there were still remnants of a long standing jealousy between one and the other, and between the States and the Straits there was a wide gulf.

In the States the problem is even more delicate and complicated. It has to be remembered that in terms of history British protection in Malaya is the creature of a day, for it was not until seventy years ago that the first Malay State accepted protection and the process was not completed till 1914.

The Malays are still racially in the stage of purely local patriotism, a Malay regards himself as the subject of the Sultan of Perak or of Johore and not as a citizen of Malaya.

His tie of unity with other Malays and with the outside world is that of religion, a Muhammadan Banjarese may be a fellow-citizen, but not an infidel Chinese, though the Banjarese may have arrived the day before yesterday and the Chinese have been born and brought up in the neighbourhood. The Chinese, on their part, have at least as marked a pride of race as our own, and that has been immensely stimulated during the past thirty years by the events of the revolution and by the struggle with Japan.

The Sino-Japanese War has done more than anything to weld the Chinese of Malaya into a single entity, but their outlook, as might be expected in the circumstances, is primarily Chinese and only *longo intervallo* Malayan.

There was also a certain jealousy on the part of the Malays at the economic supremacy of the immigrant races, and on the part of the Indians and Chinese of the political importance accorded to the Malays.

In the background was the difficulty caused by the extraordinary and amazing economic development of Malaya. A country which less than the space of a man's life ago had been a sparsely inhabited and malaria ridden expanse of jungle and

swamp had been converted into the richest, most prosperous and most progressive of the Colonial possessions of the Empire

In the years immediately preceding the war the external trade of Malaya had exceeded that of all other British Colonial possessions and protectorates put together, and over thirty million tons of foreign shipping entered or left Malayan ports each year

Material development far outstripped the Malays capacity to adapt themselves to the new economy, and the peace and prosperity of the country attracted immigrants from the over populated countries which are Malaya's neighbours. These immigrants are economically and politically far more mature than the inhabitants of the country

The aim of British Colonial policy is to enable the peoples of the Empire to stand on their own feet, and in Malaya, if we were to honour the obligations which we undertook when the States accepted British protection, that meant putting the Malays in a position where they could compete in all directions on equal terms with the immigrant races. Until that stage was reached there could be no true nationhood of Malaya

This is not to say that there was no pride in or loyalty to the British connection either in the Colony or in the States. The very contrary is the case. No Colony or Protectorate has a better or more consistent record of willing acceptance of the liabilities as well as the privileges of partnership in the Empire

H M S *Malaya* was a gift during the 1914-18 war

Between 1918 and 1939 Malaya gave over £20,000,000 to the cost of imperial defence, more than half of which represents spontaneous generosity

During this war, by gifts, taxation and loan, Malaya had contributed more than £10,000,000 to the cost of the war, and this of course does not include the large sums paid by British companies operating in Malaya in income tax and excess profits tax

The Malayan Fighter Fund totalled over £650,000, and the Malaya Patriotic Fund for the relief of suffering sent home £350,000 in cash and over 1,000 cases of comforts

The last act of the Malaya Patriotic Fund, when the Japanese were already in possession of half the country, was to send £21,000 to the Aid to Russia Fund and equally generous contributions to other war charities

All these were not benevolences suggested by Government House or the Colonial Office, but free will offerings honourably tendered and honourably accepted

The element of truth therefore in the allegation that British administration in Malaya had established no roots in Malaya is that we had not succeeded in fusing its different elements into a single nation

Under prevailing conditions and in the available time we could only have achieved unity by imposing it from above—that is to say, by annexing the Malay States

We have chosen a more honourable if more difficult way, and it is still to be proved that the implicit reliance of the peoples of Malaya in British integrity is not a greater asset than a harshly imposed and superficial unity

But we did succeed in implanting in Malaya a sense of pride in the Empire, and if the tree which we had planted and watered could not resist the force of the tempest which struck it that is a fate which has overtaken countries much older, more coherent and more firmly established

Another critic whose qualifications may be gauged by the fact that he refers to Malaya as a densely populated country larger than England, Scotland and Wales—its area is, in fact, 52,000 square miles—has taken the Administration to task for not arming the people of the country

In fact, there were and have been for the last twenty years Volunteer Forces comprising all arms in every State and Settlement open alike to Europeans and Asiatics

Later growths were a Malayan Volunteer Air Force, some of whose pilots and ninety per cent of whose maintenance staff was Asiatic, and a Malayan unit of the R N V R, which was rapidly expanding into a Malayan Navy. Here the officers were British, but the rest of the personnel was Asiatic

In addition, there were two battalions of the Malay Regiment and the Johore Military Forces, the latter manned and officered solely by Malays

There were thus opportunities for the English-speaking Asiatics to learn to defend their country, and for British subjects of European descent there was from 1940 con-

scription But no attempt was made to enforce conscription on the general mass of the population

To do so would have been politically injudicious, and the practical difficulties of equipping and training such polyglot and heterogeneous levies would have been enormous

It has also been suggested that the British Colonial system comes out badly in comparison with American methods in view of the heroic fight put up by the Filipino troops

But without in any way depreciating the magnificent work which the Americans have done in those islands, it may fairly be suggested that the Filipinos had caught the spirit of freedom long before they met the Americans

They had learned to value freedom not only because of the wise, tolerant and humane example set by the U.S.A. but in the harder school of Spanish misgovernment. They fought the Japanese for the same reason that they had previously fought first the Spaniards and then the Americans

Another line of criticism is that we have "exploited" Malaya. So far as this conjures up a picture of harsh faced capitalists extracting their toll of bricks from down trodden Asiatics it can be promptly, specifically, and finally denied and disproved. Wages and conditions of work in Malaya under British rule were good, no man was compelled to work, unemployment was effectively dealt with. Educational facilities and social services of all kinds were provided on a generous scale throughout the length of Malaya, and there are many villages in England which in sanitation, water supply and other amenities would not pass the standard demanded by the Malayan health authorities

We have scrupulously observed our obligations to the Malays and have given to all races the same privileges and advantages as we ourselves enjoy

The princely resources of Malaya have been used not for the enrichment of the British Treasury but for the benefit of the inhabitants of the country

The only sense in which we can be said to have exploited Malaya is that by lack of foresight and long term planning we allowed the economic structure of Malaya to become lop-sided and the country's prosperity to become dependent on world prices, over which Malaya could exercise no control

Admittedly the era of Malaya's phenomenal progress was not an easy one in which to make long term plans

It included a revolution in transport through the development of the internal combustion engine, which created an unprecedented market for tin and rubber, it included two world wars and the war between China and Japan, it included an evolution in China of immense but still unpredictable significance, and it included alternate periods of boom and slump which made it difficult to stabilize financial and economic conditions

But taking it by and large it was a period of abounding prosperity and content, and it should have been possible to plan more boldly and imaginatively than we did, or, rather, if we had planned the future more wisely we should have been less occupied with palliatives and remedies. We became too concerned with the actual working of the administrative machine

Another allegation is so palpably untrue that it might be ignored except that it has given some pain. Women who, after hideous experiences, arrived in England from Singapore were surprised to find that, according to some British newspapers, their husbands, whom they had left fighting or serving in conditions approximating to those of hell, were whisky swilling planters, or gin sodden miners, or soulless bureaucrats to whose ignorance, self satisfaction and dissolute habits the whole disaster was due, and that they themselves, who had served as drivers, nurses, wardens, clerks and in any capacity where they could help, were frivolous pleasure seekers devoted solely to tennis and dancing. It was not a generous or characteristically British reception for women who had lost their husbands, their possessions and their livelihood, and, what is more, the allegations did not contain one iota of truth. They have since been effectively dealt with in *The Times*.

Fortunately the effect was offset by the unaffected and unstinted kindness shown at all ports of call and at ports of arrival, and those who gave their time, their thought

and their goodwill to this task may rest assured that their practical sympathy was deeply appreciated and will not be forgotten

The courage and fortitude of the women themselves has been a thing to marvel at.

No better refutation of the silly calumnies which were published can be wanted than the unshaken courage, patience and resolution with which they have started to build up a new life on the ruins of the old

If I needed any reassurance that we shall presently return to Malaya to complete the tasks which we have begun I should draw confidence from the spirit of the British women whom it has been my privilege to meet in the hour of disaster

NATIVE CO-OPERATION IN NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES GOVERNMENT*

BY A MUHLENFELD

(Late Director of the Department of the Interior at Batavia)

WHEN I received, two months ago, the flattering invitation to address the Second Wednesday Club on Native Co-operation in the Netherlands East Indies Government, I felt a natural hesitation. In the first place, my knowledge of English is still somewhat limited, and, in the second, the pressure of official duties, especially in these days, prevents any elaborate preparation. But after nearly thirty years among the people of our Indies now drawn into the maelstrom of the battle with Japan, I felt at the same time a desire to communicate my own intense interest and sympathy to you. And I remembered my pilgrimage, last year, to the modest grave, in Hendon village church, of one of the greatest builders of the British Empire, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who acquired Singapore. For, strange as it may seem, this statesman, a keen rival, and even enemy, of the Dutch of his day, is held in great esteem by Netherlanders, because of his brilliant administrative achievements during the five years of British rule in Java. He is also equally honoured by Malays in British Malaya and by Javanese in the Dutch East Indies, because of the close attention which he devoted to their culture and welfare, to a degree highly unusual in his time. Partly with Raffles in mind, therefore, I decided to do my best to give some picture of co-operation between European and native in the Dutch regions in that part of the world. It will be understood that the task has since become a much more difficult one, arousing many painful thoughts, but I shall nevertheless read my notes substantially as I wrote them some weeks ago.

Of some 70 million inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies, nearly 50 million live in the island of Java, which holds the capital, Batavia. The archipelago stretches 3,300 miles from east to west and 1,200 miles from north to south. The area of Java itself is the same as that of England (without Wales), but the whole archipelago has an area fourteen times larger. Many different peoples inhabit the countless islands, ranging from the most primitive to the very civilized, with ancient cultures. Although all groups share to some extent, at least, in the local government of the country, I must restrict myself mainly to the history and contribution of the Javanese, who form nearly half of the whole, and two-thirds of the population of Java itself, on which our attention must also be concentrated.

It has been commonly believed that the complex culture of the Javanese came almost entirely from Hindu India, with which the Javanese were in contact some 2,000 years ago. Nevertheless, recent research indicates that important elements developed locally. The present form of Javanese theatrical art, their exquisite orches-

* Address to the Second Wednesday Club, March 11, 1942. Sir Richard Winstedt presided

tral music (gamelan), their literature, and, above all, their monumental sculpture, illustrated by the famous Borobodur, are certainly far from being slavish imitations of Hindu models. Indeed, their achievements in all these directions entitle them to an honoured place among artistically gifted peoples.

In the first centuries of this era the Javanese were already using iron, copper, bronze and gold. They also knew enough astronomy and navigation to sail to Africa and even to China, as Chinese historical sources indicate; these also mention the Embassy sent to China in 168 A.D. by the then King of Java. There is evidence that they were quite advanced in their political organization at that time.

From then until the beginning of the sixteenth century, Java knew periods of great prosperity. It was the centre of more than one empire whose political and economic influence extended far beyond the Malay archipelago.

Javanese carried on a seaborne trade between the Persian Gulf and East and South Africa. Ceylon, Madagascar, Siam and Indo-China underwent important cultural influences. Madagascar, in fact, probably received from Java its dominating race.

About 1500 A.D. however, the big Javanese empire of Modjopait was declining and at the same time a new factor, Mohammedanism, entered Javanese life, at first with the return of Javanese traders from Malacca and other Mohammedanized countries, where they had been converted to Islam. There were soon many followers, who grew so strong that new Mohammedan states were founded and the existing Hindu Empires doomed.

This did not only mean a great decline in culture. For shortly afterwards first the Portuguese, and then the Dutch reached Java, and took advantage of the internal disunity, as a result of which the Mohammedan states never attained the same brilliance and power as their Hindu predecessors.

The Dutch East India Company was first of all a trading society. Although force of circumstances compelled it to assume more and more political power, it never took much interest in the welfare of the native population. To attain its monopolistic aims the Company forced the native princes to cede their principal harbours and to renounce, on behalf of their peoples, all their seagoing trade.

Princes and chiefs were obliged to deliver native products, partly as tribute, partly for payment at very low prices, and so a very heavy burden was laid on the population.

Towards the end of the rule of the East India Company, and immediately afterwards, that is, towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, liberal ideas on colonial rule first attracted attention. Indeed, the Dutchman Dirk van Hogendorp succeeded in arousing much interest in Dutch Government circles for his more advanced ideas and principles. But the difficulties of the Napoleonic period and the confused circumstances in which the colonies then found themselves prevented the introduction of really important reforms, and Governor-General Daendels, the "iron marshal", was certainly more interested in preparing strong defence measures than in introducing a liberal policy in the administration and treatment of the natives.

Java was then conquered by the British, and from 1811-1816 was governed by Raffles, whose ideas differed from those of all his British and Dutch colleagues in the many Asiatic colonies as to the real duties of a colonial administration towards the natives.

He was convinced that the main aim of a good colonial administration is not to ensure as much profit as possible for the colonizing power, but rather to further the welfare of the native population. Many reforms were introduced, and several were taken over by the following Dutch administration, as, for instance, the substitution for the oppressive tribute system of a reasonable tax on land, the so-called "land rent".

At the same time Raffles established regular and intimate contact with several prominent Javanese, applied himself to the study of Javanese history, customs and art, and in general showed a warm interest in native life and in all that might lead to a better understanding between white and brown. His book, *History of Java*, testifies well to what he achieved in the field of research about the country and its population.

Three years after Raffles left Java, and while he was Governor of Bencoolen, in

Sumatra, he occupied Singapore for England. The fact that he took possession, in peace time, of an island that was certainly within the Dutch sphere of influence, for some time impeded good relations between the two countries, but after some years of negotiations the Dutch acquiesced in the new regime, and Singapore has been a good neighbour ever since.

From the British point of view, Raffles showed, by founding Singapore, how far sighted he was, and Great Britain owes him much. England's subsequent rôle in the Far East has only been possible through the command of the Strait of Malacca, which we all hope she will soon regain. Although Raffles' merits were not recognized by his compatriots during the short remainder of his life, his fame has grown steadily with the years.

When Java and the other islands of the Archipelago had returned to the Dutch, there was no question of applying the old East India Company methods again. In referring to the new methods and their development, I shall deal first, and mainly, with the territory under direct Dutch control, which by now includes nine tenths of the whole in the case of Java itself. At the end, I shall say a few words about the native principalities and their rulers.

It must be realized throughout, however, that the territory under direct Dutch control shows many characteristics of indirect rule. For one of the best aspects of our administration, in my opinion, has been the full use made of the capacities of the native chiefs in governing the country, and the adaptation of their institutions.

In the days when all Java was governed by native rulers, such as the Emperors of Mataram and the Sultans of Bantam, their States were divided into Regencies, and the Regents, in most cases hereditary, were assisted by Chiefs of lower rank. This system we retained for the areas under our direct control, but we made it more systematic.

Java was divided into Residencies, each consisting of four or five Regencies. The Regent's function was hereditary during the whole of the nineteenth century, but later this was changed. The succession of the Regent's son became conditional on his having enjoyed a thorough education, and a specific training for the Civil Service, in which he must also have served and risen to the rank of district chief. The training for the Native Civil Service was also made increasingly thorough with the years, so that nowadays both district chiefs and sub-district chiefs are well-educated and well-trained men, some having been to the University already, others, if particularly promising, are sent later in their careers, at Government expense.

Sub-districts consist of twenty villages or more, the chiefs being elected by the villagers through a very liberal electoral system.

Dutch officials, therefore, never administered directly. Instead, the Javanese Regents, assisted by their district and sub-district chiefs, governed under the general direction of a Dutch Resident, who was expected to regard himself as an elder brother, and under the daily supervision of Dutch Assistant Residents and Controllers. There were thus two different civil services, the Dutch and the native, on this direct administrative side of the Government's work, although they collaborated closely. For all other services, and for the central Government departments, on the other hand, natives with adequate specialized training are recruited in the same way, and for the same duties, as Dutch.

During much of the nineteenth century profit making for the mother country was still regarded as the main object. The so-called culture system, whereby the natives, instead of paying taxes, were forced to plant certain products, wanted for the European market, on a fifth of their land, and to give them to the Government, receiving a small indemnity in return, was introduced and maintained for several decades, and brought a large financial profit to Holland. In applying this system there were many abuses, causing great hardships to the population.

But strong opposition by liberal Dutchmen arose towards the middle of the century, and the energetic action of colonial reformers brought it to an end. Indeed, since about 1870 the Dutch Treasury has received no direct profits from the colonies. From that time on the Government monopoly also gave way to a very liberal system, with free competition, and without any distinction as to the nationality of investors. Private enterprise had free access to land and labour. It is true that, in the interests

of the native population, it was stipulated that the soil could not be alienated to non-natives, but by a new agrarian law individuals or companies could obtain from the Government heritable leases on free domanial grounds, on terms up to 75 years, or hire land from natives for short terms, subject to certain safeguards

Towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century new ideas about colonial policy were again put forward, for instance by such experts as Dr van Kol, a Social Democratic Member of Parliament, and Dr van Deventer, of the Radical Party. Dr van Deventer became famous through an article about our 'debt of honour' to the Javanese people, whose labour in growing valuable products for the European market in the culture system period had been a very great help to the Dutch Treasury in difficult times, while there remained still so much to do for the native population which was delayed by lack of funds

The ideals expressed by Dr van Deventer soon became known collectively as 'the ethical policy,' which before long was also followed by the Government. Much attention was paid to the education, health and general welfare of the people, while important measures were taken to improve native agriculture by building extensive irrigation works and spreading knowledge about agricultural methods

Emigration to the outer provinces was also encouraged. The increase of the population of Java, from 4½ million in 1815 to 40 million in 1905 (now it is nearly 50 million), caused great concern, and permanent settlement in underpopulated areas within the Indies was successfully promoted

Again, the judicial system was further considered in the light of a new recognition of the value of native groups and institutions, and of their right to develop along their own lines, which is, in fact, the cardinal principle of modern Dutch colonial policy. Although the enforcement of a European legal system throughout the islands would have had the advantages of convenience, uniformity and precision, the many difficulties have been overcome and native customary law given an important place, especially in the Outer Provinces. Nowadays many judges and members of the Courts are natives, often graduates of Dutch universities, or of the Faculty of Law at Batavia. They not only judge cases involving natives, but also those where Europeans are concerned

In 1905 decentralization was also begun. Councils were instituted, in Residencies and in towns, on which the natives were represented, and to these Councils public works and other matters were entrusted

From this time onward the tempo quickened. The Russo-Japanese war caused a renaissance in many Asiatic countries, for the natives now understood that Asiatics need not remain in a status inferior to Europeans. As the Dutch never felt a strong racial prejudice against the natives of the East Indies, however, personal relations between the two groups were often very good, real friendship existed in many cases, and intermarriage often occurred. It was therefore natural that from the beginning the natives' efforts to reach a higher educational level and to acquire more political rights found many sympathizers in Dutch circles, although strong resistance by the more conservative part of European society had to be overcome

Great admiration was, for instance, felt for the noble daughters of the Regent of Japara. The eloquent letters of one of them, Raden Adjeng Kartini, to her Dutch friends were published after her death in childbirth, and awakened widespread interest in the life and problems of the Javanese people in general and of Javanese women in particular. There is an English edition, called *Letters of a Javanese Princess*

Between 1910 and 1925 many native political and cultural groups grew up, with varied tendencies. The oldest one based itself on the great past of the Javanese, and the possibility of building up a new national life on the traditional culture, which was, of course, mainly of a mixed Hindu Buddhist character. Most of the members belonged to the noble classes, or intellectual groups. Another party, which drew hundreds of thousands of followers, based itself on the principles of Islam. Later, under the leadership of some Javanese doctors, lawyers and engineers, certain very radical organizations also arose, including a Communistic one, which caused serious troubles in 1926. On the whole, however, the native movements in the Dutch East Indies have not introduced such difficulties as in India, perhaps mainly because of the calm temperament, self-control, and very reasonable nature of the Javanese

Personally I believe that the closer social intercourse between white and brown in our Indies (best expressed in the fact that all clubs are now open to natives) also explains a good deal

Meanwhile in 1918 a Parliament, the People's Council, was instituted. At first there was a Dutch majority, but now, against 25 Dutch members, there are 30 native and 5 Chinese and Arab members

A good spirit of co-operation has generally prevailed between the different groups in the People's Council

Great administrative reforms have also been introduced since 1926, involving further decentralization, many of the Central Government's duties being transmitted to new Provincial and Regency Councils, besides other changes. In the Regency Councils the native members greatly predominate. In the same period the task of the Dutch civil service has shifted its emphasis—the Assistant Residents, for instance, have become the advisers of the Regents, instead of their immediate chiefs.

These reforms proved very successful, and, although there are still difficult elements in the native movement, on the whole personal and official relations have been excellent. Even in the highest ranks of the Government, as in the Council of Netherlands India, and at the head of the Ministries or Departments, natives are nowadays to be found, and indeed all services are open to natives. Most of the population believes in the good intentions of the Government.

In 1922 Netherlands India ceased to be a colony and became one of the four parts of the Dutch Empire, which are constitutionally equal despite the different types of government in each one. A few months ago the Queen announced that an imperial conference would be held soon after the war to consider further constitutional reforms, so that the East and West Indies may have more influence on the affairs of the whole Empire.

In the present war we have received touching proofs of loyalty from the native population, even from some opposition elements who are non-co-operators on principle. One of them, Dr Tjipto Mangunkusumo, formerly a good friend of mine, who was banished to the Outer Provinces after the troubles of 1926 and spent fourteen years in exile, wrote a strong appeal to his people, shortly after his release, to stand united behind the Government in resisting the evil forces of the authoritarian powers.

To my brothers of Chinese and Indonesian Nationality,' he wrote

I am no leader and I am too old to assume the leadership myself. But in these stirring days keeping aloof from events is not less than a crime.

'Brethren! Our country is in a real war. That means that we have to defend the future of our children and grandchildren, who, as things are, have been educated in a Western way and so could not suddenly turn in a Javanese direction without the greatest difficulty. Our place is unconditionally behind the Governor-General.'

'The common duty of white, yellow and brown is to cause as little trouble to the authorities as possible, so that they can give their full attention to the many problems which now demand solution.'

'And now, with Allah, into the war!'

Similarly, Mr August Salim, a Malay, and formerly a leader of the big Islam Political Society, who might be called the "grand old man" of the Indonesian movement, and was for many years a non-cooperator, made a speech shortly after Holland was invaded, saying

But I tell you that Holland, and also we Indonesians, may consider ourselves happy that through this unjustified crime of the enemy's the Kingdom of the Netherlands has entered the war on the right side, and we cannot praise highly enough the courage and the wisdom of Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina, who at the right moment took the right decision and withdrew Herself and Her Government from the power of the enemy, in order to continue the struggle from the other parts of the Kingdom in East and West.'

In what I have said up to now, I have confined myself mainly to giving an account of Java and of the part of it under direct Government rule. There are, however, as I mentioned before, large parts of Java and of the Outer Provinces which are not under direct rule.

In Java there are 4, and in the Outer Provinces 274, native States, in which 10 per

cent of the population of Java and 50 per cent. of that of the Outer Provinces are still governed by their own princes. The relations of the Princes to the Government are partly based on elaborate treaties or agreements, called 'political contracts,' but chiefly on so-called 'short declarations,' in which the Princes promise to govern their states in accordance with the rules and principles given them by the Government through the Governors or Residents.

In practice, there is not much difference between the methods of government in the directly ruled territory and those in the native States. Many of the Princes have had a modern type of education, including in some cases study at a University.

In the present crisis the Princes' loyalty has also been outstanding.

One of them, Prince Mangkunagoro, who rules a state in central Java with about one million inhabitants, and is an old personal friend of mine, is certainly a remarkable man. He had a very difficult youth, leaving the Court of his uncle, the reigning Prince, because he could not get the type of education he wanted. He then struggled for knowledge and even for his existence, but 'made good' on his merits, playing an important rôle as a journalist and in the Javanese nationalistic and cultural movement.

Having saved a modest amount of money, he went to Holland, travelling third class on the boat, and studied Oriental languages and literature at Leyden University.

While he was in Holland, in 1914, the Great War broke out and the Dutch Army was mobilized. He enlisted and, after serving two years as a private and non-commissioned officer, he obtained a commission in the Grenadier Guards.

Soon afterwards, however, his uncle abdicated and he succeeded as reigning Prince, other members of the family being considered less fitted for the responsibilities entailed. As Prince Mangkunagoro he has distinguished himself not only as a very modern ruler, but also as a great protector of Javanese art and literature. The State has a so-called Legion which is really a modern military corps, and has become a useful part of the Dutch East Indian Army. In one of his recent letters he sent me the text of an address to his courtiers, officers and officials, in the course of which he said:

'There is not the least reason to be afraid, on the contrary, there is only reason to hold our heads high, if you test every act you perform and every word you utter, by a touch stone which has a foundation and is directed towards a goal. To me, as Chief of the Mangkunagaran Principality, as the highest servant of that State and thus at the head of you all, that foundation, which is at the same time touch stone and guide, consists in my faithfulness to the Royal House of Orange, which notwithstanding great adversity always remains the legally reigning House of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.'

In the main these quotations fairly represent the spirit of Prince and commoner alike in Java and the Outer Provinces, and in this the Chinese and Arabs, who number nearly 2 million, are included. Some native political organizations, of course, declare that an Independent Indonesia is their objective, and have opposed the introduction of conscription at a time when the People's Council still lacks full parliamentary rights. Some native leaders also show little enthusiasm about maintaining the ties which unite them with the Dutch. But these are a small minority, and most of the native world believes that their present system of government promises far greater prosperity and happiness than Japanese domination could ever bring, and they are prepared to do their utmost in the common cause against an unscrupulous foe.

My own friends in native society, who range from Princes, Regents, and nationalist leaders to petty officials or humble village folk, I consider myself fortunate to possess, as one could not hope for truer and more loyal friends anywhere.

And now I hope I have succeeded in giving you some idea of the relations of Dutch and native in the Indies, on the eve of invasion. We hope and believe that the heavy sacrifices already made and the trials of body and spirit still to come will prove not to have been in vain, and that the cruel aggressors of Asia will finally be defeated. A new and happy day will then dawn for the peoples of the Dutch East Indies, as for those of Malaya and the Philippines.

THE PLACE OF THE DECCAN IN INDIAN HISTORY*

By NAWAB ALI YAVAR JANG BAHADUR

THIS is the first time that the Indian Historical Congress has given special place to local history and, as one who takes both a citizen's and a student's pride in the history of these Dominions, I can only say that the decision could hardly have been taken on a better occasion than when the Historical Congress was about to pay this welcome visit to Hyderabad

For our history has much both of local colour and peculiarities of national interest. The variety of its past, quite apart from its richness, is itself fascinating. Archaeological research has unearthed prehistoric graves and excavated old towns, buried literally in the sands of time, while the survival of several aboriginal tribes provides to this day an unbroken link with Neolithic culture. There were also the Dravidians, without caste or priesthood, and the impact of the early Aryan settlers on their lives brought about a process of Aryanization which threw up great ruling houses. The first and foremost of these was the Andhra dynasty, which derived its origin from a tribe living according to a work compiled prior to the year 500 before Christ, on the southern fringes of the Aryan settlements in Berar. Pliny, the Roman encyclopedist of the first century of the Christian era, basing his information on Megasthenes, describes them as a powerful race with a military force second only to Chandragupta Maurya, and an edict of Asoka speaks of the Andhras among the Princes to whom he had sent Buddhist missionaries. While professing Brahmanism, the Andhras were more than tolerant towards Buddhists. Villages and lands were granted for their maintenance and, along with the Brahmanic worship of Shiva, the air of the Deccan was filled with the chants of groups of Buddhists inhabiting the caves which over looked the lonely, wooded gorges, like those below Ellora today.

The scene changed with the fall of the Andhras, and let us pass to the third century when the Deccan came to be ruled, mainly for four hundred years, by the Rashtrakutas, and then by the Chalukyas with their capital at Kalyani. Pulkesin II, the greatest Chalukyan ruler, vied with Harsha in the extent of his conquests, and the river Narbada formed the boundary between his empire in the south and Harsha's in the north. Pulkesin's fame spread far and wide, and the mission sent to his Court by Khusrau II of Iran has been depicted in the enduring colours of Ajanta. Huen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited the Deccan in his time and was much impressed by the administrative efficiency of the kingdom and by the inimitable art of Ajanta. Its exquisite sense of colour, its reproduction of past scenes, its presentation of the drama of human destiny with all the aches and ecstasies of the human soul in its search for reality, still inspire many pilgrims and seekers of beauty, and the unknown hands which painted and the minds which conceived them have since been immortalized by a Muslim ruler who has lavished on these Buddhist monuments the gifts of unstinted patronage and appreciation.

Peace and progress promoted a thriving trade, and the ancient town of Paithan, parts of which have now been excavated, was one of the great centres of trade in cotton goods and onyx. Contemporary Arab geographers and chroniclers give copious accounts of the shelter and encouragement given by the Rashtrakuta Kings to the Arab traders who settled in the land about the eighth and ninth centuries, and Sulaiman and Masudi explain the great ages attained by many of the Rashtrakuta Kings as having been due to their tolerance and protection of the Arabs.

It was thus the peaceful pursuit of commerce which first brought the Muslims to the Deccan, four centuries before the Khilji invasion. Not until the time of Mohamed Tughluq did the Deccan come directly under Delhi. In 1327 he made Deogiri, to which he gave the name of Daulatabad, the capital of his empire, and Ibn-e Batutah,

* Presidential address to the Deccan History Section of the fifth session of the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad

the Arab traveller, who visited that city several years later, has left a description of its magnificence. With the rise of Hasan Gangu, however, under the title of Abu Muzaffar Alauddin Bahman Shah, the Deccan was once again lost to Delhi for three centuries and a half. The successors of Alauddin Bahman ruled the south from sea to sea for a hundred and eighty years when they yielded place to five different kingdoms, of which Golconda was one of the largest and most powerful. The Bahmanis and the rulers of the kingdoms which followed were great lovers of art and architecture, and their Courts were the fountains of scholarly patronage. Golconda, Bijapur and Ahmednagar were well known for their libraries and schools, to every mosque, however small, there was attached a school, and Hindu patshahas were equally endowed. The noble edifice of the Madrasah at Bidar still stands as a memorial to the devotion of a great Minister, Mahmud Gawan, to the cause of learning. The age was rich in chroniclers, and Ferishta's monumental history was a product of it. The letters of Mahmud Gawan himself, known as the *Riyaz ul-Insha*, now under publication by the Persian Manuscripts Society at Hyderabad, throw much light on the diplomatic usages of the time, while the *Tazkirat ul-Mulook* was written by Rafiuddin, who had himself witnessed the battle of Talikota in 1565 which resulted in large portions of the Carnatic and modern Mysore, then parts of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, passing under the sovereignty of the Sultans of Bijapur. Alauddin himself was a great ruler, his treatment of the Raja of Telengana, who had become disobedient, was so generous that he was overcome by the sense of his virtues and submitted to his authority. In the clutches of a mortal disease which he knew would claim him soon, he gave public audience to his subjects twice a day and transacted the business of State. Many of his successors were also men of learning and poets of merit, Ibrahim Adil Shah's *Nauras Namah* provides to this day a useful commentary on the social conditions of the Deccan during the sixteenth century, while many of the Qutb Shahi Kings, like Mohamed Quli Qutb Shah, a benevolent ruler, a brave warrior, the builder of the City of Hyderabad, were great poets, pioneers of Deccani Urdu, great architects and builders of irrigation works which last to this day.

The annexation of the kingdom of Golconda by Aurangzebe brought the Deccan once again under the direct rule of Delhi. It was from Aurangabad that the Emperor directed his campaign against the Marathas, and that provincial capital was converted into a garden city and a centre of cultural activity which produced Vali and Siraj, the first poets of the Urdu language. New industries sprang up, like cloth of gold and embroidered silk, and there are still living in the vicinity of the city, in a locality known as Kaghzipura, the descendants of those makers of hand made paper whom Aurangzebe had settled. There also exist many temples and Hindu shrines in the Deccan which have been endowed by Aurangzebe, and his sanads are still honoured.

There was present with the Emperor, at the time of the siege of Golconda, a daring Turkish soldier of noble and ancient blood, enjoying the title of Firoz Jung. His son, Chin Qilich Khan Nizam ul Mulk, was appointed Subedar of the Deccan in 1713 by the Emperor Farukh Siyar. Through vicissitudes of fortune which led him back to Delhi and then again to the Deccan, this distinguished nobleman established himself in the south with Aurangabad as his seat of government and founded a dynasty which has since taken its name from his title of Asaf Jah. A man of high principles in public and private life, endowed with sagacity and statesmanship, dignity and poise, he was no mean scholar and poet, no less an administrator in peace than a general in war. No series on the 'Rulers of India' is complete without him, and history has done scant justice to his achievements. Not only did he command armies, he was a leader of men, he not only founded a State, he organized and established it. The basic divisions of Divani, Sarf-i-Khas and Paigah owe their origin to him. He brought peace and security to a distracted land, he had the wisdom to seek the substance, not the shadow, of power, he may never have 'declared' his independence, but he was independent and he had the stature and the sinews to maintain it, and yet, when Nadir rode with blood and thunder into Hindustan, he marched to the defence of Delhi, the scene of his ancient loyalty, against the invader of India.

European contacts are of an earlier date, and the French traveller Thevenot found

considerable trade between Golconda and the English and Dutch factories on the east coast. As early as 1583, Ralph Fitch and his companions visited Golconda and obtained the "Golden Firman". As traders in the town of Chennapatnam, as Madras was then known, these English settlers were under the kingdom of Golconda, and Abul Hasan Tana Shah had even called upon them for help against the Mughals. By the time of the great Nizam ul Mulk, the English and French were firmly settled in their respective factories at Madras and Pondicherry, and correspondence existed between him and the French on whose Governor, Dumas, he had conferred honours. It was in 1744 that, while regulating the affairs of the Carnatic (his dominion extended as far as Trichinopoly), the English sent a mission to him, and an interesting diary of what occurred is preserved in the records of Madras and has been published in the delightful volumes of Talboys Wheeler. These relations were, however, mainly commercial, and the English settlers paid rent and tribute.

Ananda Ranga Pillai had predicted in his diary the intrigues and disorder which would break out upon Nizam ul Mulk's death, and the prediction came true. The struggle for succession that followed was used by the rival European powers, as in the more recent civil war in Spain, for settling the issue of supremacy, and Seeley has aptly estimated that the history of the English empire in India began with the interference of the French in Hyderabad on the death of the great Nizam. Fifty years later, when the remnant of Raymond's gallant force was disbanded by the swift and sudden action of John Malcolm, effective French influence ceased to exist. But the tradition of Bussy and Lallée, and of Raymond (who became a local saint) continued, and, while Napoleon's dream of the conquest of India kept Hyderabad well within the view of the Imperial Government of France and the Nizam was mentioned in a despatch of Morinias as late as the year 1807, it is an interesting projection of the Napoleonic legend that, on a critical and historic occasion in 1853, the Nizam is reported to have thought even of appealing to the Emperor of the French.

A talk at the Cape of Good Hope between an incoming Governor-General of the East India Company and an outgoing Resident first suggested the idea of developing the relations then existing with the Nizam into a subsidiary alliance, and the resulting treaty of 1800, contracted by Wellesley, still governs the relations between Hyderabad and the British Government. Those relations have grown as times have changed, and the sons of this soil have, in obedience to the commands of the Faithful Ally, fought in the plains of Flanders and are today fighting the battle of India.

There have been wars before, wars against external enemies, wars against internal rebels, even wars of succession, yet, like today, our rulers concerned themselves at the same time with the growing needs of the administration, and documents still exist bearing their commands on measures like famine relief and settlement. The system of administration itself was, from the time of the first Asaf Jah, based upon a degree of toleration which left the management of land revenue and finance in the hands of Hindu nobles. Vast grants were made, and so much did the Hindus identify themselves with the new rulers that they took pride in being called Asaf Jahi. One of our unique features is the existence in many towns and villages of mosques and temples adjacent to each other and of over a hundred Muslim institutions at least which are managed by Hindus who receive grants. The impact of the West, the development of communications and the requirements of the new age induced the genius of Sir Salar Jung to inaugurate far reaching reforms in every branch of the administration, while the noble edifice of the modern State which you see today is the result of the personal labours, during the last thirty years, of His Exalted Highness himself.

These are some of the main features of our history, features which we prize. There is room indeed, as has been suggested by Sir Theodore Tasker, for the writing of a volume on the Legacy of the Deccan, if only in answer to the violence done to our history and to the history of India in general by the joint authors of a recent publication who describe the three main concerns of the rulers of India as the main tenance of an army, the collection of revenue and the development of espionage. The scheme of this Congress to compile a comprehensive history of India will provide a refutation of such false judgments if it includes within its scope the history of our cultural, administrative and economic development as well. A history of the Deccan, based on the inclusion of such aspects, is under contemplation, and it is in the fitness

of things that it should be undertaken here and now, for, beginning with the monumental work of Khafi Khan, the Asaf Jahi period is specially rich in the histories and historians it has produced. It was during the seven years that he spent in concealment from Nizam ul Mulk for having supported his second son against the father that Shah Nawaz Khan wrote the greater part of his priceless biography to which we are in debt for most of our information on those times. Munim Khan's *Savaneh-e Deccan*, Yusuf Mohammad Khan's *Tarikh-e Fathiyah*, Mansa Ram's *Maasir-e Nizams* and *Darbare Asif*, Ijad's *Futuhat-e Asafi*, Mohammad Ameen's *Majma ul Insha*, Ram Singh's *Gulshan-e Ajab* and Wali Mohammad's *Chahar Gulshan* are valuable source books for the earlier period, while for the later, Mir Abu Turab's *Hadiqat ul Alam*, Ghulam Ali Azad Bulgrami's *Maasir ul Karam*, Tajalli Ali Shah's *Tuzuk-e Asafiyah*, and the *Tankh-e Rasheeduddin Khani* are authorities which can hardly be dispensed with. The student of Deccan history would do well, as a matter of fact, to begin with the study and classification of the bibliography of the period, he would no doubt include those many French and English sources which have already been published, and the invaluable collections of original documents in London and Paris, Delhi, Poona, Madras and Pondicherry, where much of our history is preserved. There are treasures nearer home, among the private collections may specially be mentioned the documents in the possession of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur and the Paigahs and the Peshkari Estate, not to mention the manuscripts at Kalyani and Aurangabad and in the Saidiyah Library. The Asafiyah State Library, which has just celebrated its golden jubilee, and the Daftari-e Divani, have also large collections of manuscripts bearing on the history of the Deccan. The latter, an amalgamation of three or four old offices, each with a history of its own, contains an exhaustive record of sanads and grants, and of documents dating back to the Emperor Jahangir. Many of the treaties and engagements contracted by the State are preserved in the Daftari, which also possesses innumerable Firmans of different rulers, letters from news agents at different Courts in India and much interesting material dealing, among other matters, with Hyderabad's trade by sea on the east coast and its shipbuilding activities for which timber was brought from the Northern Circars. I have the privilege of belonging to a committee which is at work at present completing the classification of these documents and settling the methods of their arrangement, it will shortly embark on the task of editing and publication which will make many of these records available for the general reader, as has been done in the Peshwa's Daftari by my respected friend Professor G. S. Sardesai and in Pondicherry by M. Gaudart. A welcome addition to this collection of State records would be the transfer to it of all the official papers belonging to past Ministers which, by an accident, are still found in their respective families, it would ensure their preservation where, in the past, many may have been lost. My own Department has recently had occasion, in view of the constitutional importance of such records, to recommend legislation for 'historical' documents in private custody which, while respecting private ownership, will make listing and preservation obligatory and will also prevent alienation without the consent of the State. I am glad to be able to say that His Exalted Highness has been pleased to accept the principle of such legislation and the Bill itself is in the course of preparation. Our University emphasizes the study of Deccan history by devoting a special paper to the subject in its curriculum for graduation, but as one having had the honour of once belonging to its staff I would like to see even more and to urge the establishment of a special Chair of Deccan History which, one is entitled to hope, may be made possible by generous endowments from our nobles whose associations with that history have been so intimate and rich. Their ancestors had once inspired the writing of the *Hadiqat ul Alam* and the *Tarikh-e Rasheeduddin Khani*, their varied interests resulted in the establishment of an Observatory in Hyderabad, and one of them, as may be seen from the records preserved in the Asman Jahi Paigah, first raised the question, some fifty four years ago, of reorganizing the records of the old offices. It is but right to expect of their descendants that they will collectively endow a Chair designed to recall a legacy to which their own houses had once made distinguished contributions.

It is a legacy the variety of which itself speaks of the diversity of its sources, but the continuity of its evolution endows it with a community of interest shared alike by different races. In its associations with the great scenes of the *Ramayana* and the

Mahabharatha, in its having been the abode of the earliest writers of Maharashtra and the great poets of the language of Kannada, in the fact of its having housed the Andhra Nagari of ancient times, in its expression in colour and its symbolism in form on the rocks of Ajanta and Ellora, and again, in its noble ruins of the Madrasah of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar and the library of Malik Amber at Aurangabad, in the great dams of recent times constructed to contain reserves of water for the peasant and in architecture such as you find in this building, harmonizing the concepts of the two great cultures which have found one home—in all these and many more we have common objects of pride, and the resulting heritage belongs to one and all of us equally. No political controversy or economic urge of the day can alter that fundamental fact of history. It has led to the age long consciousness of an entity and to an instinct to defend it against external interference which found its personification in Chand Bibi and Malik Amber. The same instinct runs down the ages to the present and, when the wealth of the heritage is known and seen, and the traditions are felt to which it has given birth, none will stand in need of an apology from us. What has now become known as Mulkī or Deccani sentiment is in essence our pride in our past and our determination to defend and strengthen ourselves by our own exertions. It will explain the existence of that quality, something more than mere local patriotism, of State-consciousness which, far more than in any other Indian State, you will find influencing our thoughts and ambitions, and no student of our history or our politics could arrive at a true appraisal of the forces at work without appreciation and sense of that perspective. The sentiment does not come in the way of others, it only asks for internal development on the lines of our own genius, it therefore naturally resents interference by outside elements which have not solved their own problems and have, therefore, nothing to teach beyond what we may ourselves, in accordance with our needs, choose to learn or adopt of their best. It is not mere isolationism or the assertion of a kind of Monroe doctrine which we have seen buried in our own days in the very place of its birth. The independence of Nizam ul Mulk did not come in the way of his marching to the defence of Delhi against an Iranian invader, and today the armed forces of his seventh successor are fighting against an even greater menace to the integrity of India. They signify the bonds which unite us with the rest of India, and the homage we pay to the continuance of the unity of Indian history.

BARODA IN 1940-1941

BY STANLEY RICE

THAT the influence of the late Maharaja is still apparent in the affairs of Baroda is shown in the Administration Report of the Dewan, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, for 1940-41. In some respects no doubt things have changed, for Sayaji Rao III was fond of experimenting, and his restless mind was not content to let well alone. One of these experiments was the creation of a post, the holder of which was entrusted with all the executive work of the State while the other Ministers were supposed to be inspecting the various departments—a function by which the Maharaja set great store. But the only result was that the inspections were not done and the Ministers had not enough to do. The State has now reverted to the older plan of portfolios, which distributes the work more evenly and also keeps the Minister in closer touch with the general administration. But in some other ways the Maharaja's influence was wholly for good. When on the occasion of his diamond jubilee he presented the State with a crore of rupees from his private funds, he announced that, "My ideal is to im-

prove village life—all sides of it I wish to develop in my people a keen desire for a higher standard of living, a will to live better, and a capacity for self-help and self-reliance Special preference will be given to poorer areas and to the needs of the backward communities"

This was very characteristic of the late Maharaja in his attitude towards caste in general and to the outcaste and aboriginal communities in particular, and His present Highness' reference to "all classes and communities, without exception," when he announced a similar gift of a crore, indicates that he is following the same policy In the ordinary villages the interest on these gifts has so far been devoted to the provision of water supply both for men and for cattle, as well as to roads and village protective works The principal provision for the backward classes is of a boarding-school with farm attached for the Thakardas in the north of the Raj These people are a criminal class, and the work undertaken seems to be like that of the Salvation Army in British India—an attempt to induce these people to take to agriculture and to settle on the land A somewhat similar scheme has been started for settling Rabaris, who are a nomadic folk wandering about from place to place with cattle

One naturally turns to the war effort to see what the State is doing in this regard, and it is pleasant to be able to record that His Highness, who subscribed Rs 50,000 for Spitfires in 1939, gave a further Rs 50,000 to the Indian Navy for a craft to be named *Baroda*, which was launched in October, 1941 He gave Rs 20,000 to the Governor of Bombay's War Gifts Fund, and Her Highness Rs 10,000 to Lady Linlithgow's Silver Trinket Fund It is well known that many other contributions have since been made, including a Baroda Squadron of the R A F At the time of the report one of the infantry regiments was on active service, and the Mechanical Transport section had left Baroda to join service, apparently at the front The State, as distinct from His Highness, has subscribed liberally to interest-free Defence Bonds and also to Defence Loans All this shows that the State is awake to the needs of the war, and, though the enemy is still far away from Western India, A R P organizations are being set up It is distressing to think that this should have to be done, and we may hope that it may never pass beyond the state of precaution Certain legislative enactments have been passed, they would seem to be mere extensions of Government of India Acts and need not detain us here

The principal organic change in the State is in the direction of democratic government The young Maharaja, in his message to the newly constituted Dhara Sabha, the State Legislative Assembly, said

"The new Constitution is based on the complete identity of interest between the Ruler and the ruled and among all sections of the population "

Twenty-seven of the sixty members are elected by territorial constituencies Ten represent special interests, and seventeen minorities There are only six officials The Dhara Sabha can initiate and pass legislation, but any Act requires the sanction of the Maharaja, and the power of "certification," adopted presumably from the Government of India Act, is vested in the Diwan Certain subjects are withdrawn from their cognizance,

but on the whole it is clear that the new Act constitutes a great advance on democratic lines. An important step in this direction is the appointment of a non-official gentleman to be a member of the Executive Government, such an appointment has never been made before. All this is no doubt inspired by the trend of political events in British India, it is a clear vindication of Baroda's claim to be considered a progressive State, if indeed that were necessary. There is in India a tendency to regard the setting up of machinery as an end in itself and to forget that it is only a means to an end. You can make a motor-car, but without petrol it is a dead thing incapable of movement, in the hands of an unskilful driver it may become a dangerous thing. We will put it no higher, before a Legislative Assembly can work you must create it, and you must put into its making the best work of which you are capable. But in the long run it will be judged by its achievements. The Baroda Act has not been in force long enough to give any results, the work of the year must be judged by the standards then prevalent.

There was no department in which the late Maharaja took a keener interest than social legislation. It is interesting to observe that his efforts are at last bearing visible fruit. To us in England it seems absurd that it should be necessary to pass a law making illegal marriages of children under eight, but in India marriages are not unknown between unborn children, the contract being void if the children should prove of the same sex. These customs are gradually dying out, but custom is hard to kill, and to some extent they are still alive. But we are told that "so far as marriages of children under eight years are concerned the law has succeeded in practically eliminating them." The evil of child marriages does not, however, consist so much in early betrothals—for it is obvious that no consummation can take place—as in the effect that early consummation has upon the health of the parties. The marriageable age is now eighteen for boys and fourteen for girls, and the Report says that "only about one-eighth of the marriages come within the penalized age limits," whereas the percentage in 1920 and even 1930 was over 30 per cent. Naturally, the worst offenders are the lower classes, and it is to be feared that it is female influence that is chiefly responsible. In one caste it seems there was a custom of marrying all children from the age of one month on a single day fixed by the priest under the order of the goddess. These mass marriages only took place every nine or ten years, and one wonders what happened in the intervals, but now the custom seems to be breaking down under the pressure of education and social legislation, if indeed it has not disappeared.

It is disappointing to learn that the Caste Tyranny Removal Act, which was specially directed against such customs as penalizing foreign travel, or the refusal to spend extravagantly on caste dinners. But caste custom has so far been too strong. There were fifty-four cases in the courts, but in no case was there a conviction, and the Report rightly remarks that "people are reluctant to resort to law because it embitters their relations with the leaders of their caste, on whom they are largely dependent for the observance of social and religious forms of their society." This is true, it is difficult for us to realize what ostracism from the caste means and it

is no wonder that the penalties of the law are looked upon as the lesser evil. The legislation to relieve the Raniparaj (aboriginal) people from the exactions of the money-lender seems to have been more successful. Wherever the money-lender has been able to get a grip on such folk owing to the want of protection, the land has slipped from the hands of the owners, who have become mere tenants at will. The figures show that since the maximum rent has been fixed landlord and tenant have shown a far greater desire to compose their differences, so that even when cases are brought to court they are generally settled by agreement.

It has always seemed strange that more attention is not paid in India to the improvement and care of livestock. It does not seem to be generally recognized that the cultivation of land, on which the country so largely depends, ought to have the requisite standard of livestock as well as improved methods of tillage. The various Governments concerned are not wholly to blame, they have set up stud farms with special bulls to improve breeding, and within limits these have not been altogether unsuccessful. For the care of cattle veterinary hospitals have been established, and in this respect Baroda has not done badly. She has thirty-seven dispensaries which have treated nearly 60,000 cattle. But veterinary work and cattle-breeding are not in the forefront, they are, and are treated as, minor departments. It is true that the ryot himself has shown no great interest in the subject, cattle are too often left to breed as Nature directs and without any control. Where there is an established breed it is noticeable how different the ryot's attitude is, they would not plough up their pasture on any consideration. It is satisfactory that "dairy and livestock" is one of the special subjects taught to young agriculturists, but it is lumped together with tobacco production and curing and poultry rearing, which seems to imply that the importance of it is not yet fully realized. Baroda is quite aware that Rome was not built in a day. The ryot is intensely conservative and is inclined to be suspicious of new methods. The Report says in another connection that it is the steady change in the outlook of villages which is the matter for real satisfaction. That change must necessarily be slow. As an illustration, we may refer to the results of humane castration, in which the attempts to induce the ryot to abandon the primitive methods are almost stationary.

The co-operative movement shows little change, but it is clear that what there is is in the direction of quality rather than quantity. The aim is to make the societies centres of village reconstruction. Unpromising societies are ruthlessly eliminated, so that there were actually fewer societies working, but those were of the healthier class. Auditors are being trained, and the superior staff has now two assistant registrars. There was a time when the Government would not be persuaded that the success of the movement must depend on an adequate personnel, both in numbers and in efficiency. The whole work of inspection and supervision was thrown upon one man, and the result was that it was not well done. That attitude seems to have passed, and we may hope for better results in future. But it is still noticeable that comparatively little use is made of these means of cheap credit, and the obstacle seems still to be that the credit given by the money-lender is and must be more elastic than that of

the societies. It is always possible to extend credit so long as there is any security left and so long as the money-lender is willing to extend it.

At a certain meeting the question was asked what was the percentage of lapse into illiteracy. The answer was somewhat surprisingly, "About 75 per cent." The Maharaja shrewdly remarked "Then we are wasting three-quarters of the money." The Diwan, whose special interest, if he can be said to have one, is education, seems to have taken this to heart, for we are now told that the figure has dropped to 50 per cent. Allowing for the difficulty in obtaining accurate figures on such a subject, there has been a considerable improvement. Various reasons are given for this improvement, but all of them are measures which the Government has taken, and credit must therefore be given to them. One cause is only mentioned in the preamble. The institution of village and travelling libraries, which is due to the late Maharaja, must be allowed its share in reducing illiteracy. There are now such libraries in 1,270 villages, and though of course all literates do not take advantage of the opportunity offered to them, the figure of nearly 180,000 readers is gratifying and certainly justifies the venture. Most of the books are in Gujarati or Marathi, as might be expected, but there is a small number of English books for the few who want them. "The principal weakness of the movement is the disproportionate amount spent on newspapers to the neglect of books." This, considering the political ferment in the country, especially in British India, is perhaps only natural. It is noticeable even in this country, even though the reading of books has, we are assured, never been greater. Out of a total population of $28\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, or 2,850,000, less than 500,000 remain to be served.

The number of girls attending primary schools was over 112,000. Ladies are taking an increasing part in teaching and in other branches of educational work. Women also supplement the income of their families, and the proportion of such in Baroda is very high—higher, in fact, than in Gujarat and in the Bombay Province. It has often been remarked that the way in which women have come forward in India of recent years is remarkable, and there is no need to stress the fact here. Women, of course, have much leeway to make up, owing to customs which prevailed in the past, for which they were themselves partly responsible.

Baroda is, and is likely to remain, a predominantly agricultural country, but the attempts to foster industries have not been without results. In twenty years the number of factory operatives has increased from 11,000 to 37,000. Most of these are engaged in the textile trade, as is natural seeing that 63 per cent of the total commercial crops grown is cotton. There are, however, also thriving chemical works, woollen mills, and cement and salt works. Among the public works undertaken, a badly needed bridge over the Tapti has been completed, but irrigation continues to languish, as it always has. The soil, for the most part, seems unsuitable for irrigation.

But, after all, what is most valuable to a ryot is his health. That the State spends only one-fifth or less on medical relief than what it spends on education goes for very little, for some departments must absorb more than others, but the number of hospitals and dispensaries—one for every

24,000 of the population—seems unduly low. That the State is alive to its responsibilities is, however, shown by the anti-malarial measures, which in Baroda city have reduced what is called "the chief menace to the city" very greatly during the last ten years. In the south of the Raj they have also been of the utmost value, and it is clear that they have come to stay. For, as everyone knows, malaria is not only prejudicial to health, but, by reducing vitality, to the economic position of any area in which it is prevalent.

As usual in most States, there was an absence of communal feeling and no rioting. This was the more satisfactory because there were riots both in Bombay and Ahmedabad, and precautionary measures had to be taken to prevent similar riots in the State. The work of the police and the co-operation of the leaders of opinion frustrated any untoward incidents. The Press, too, was loyal to the State, though undoubtedly critical, as it ought to be. It is common for Nationalists to declare that the Princes and the States are anachronisms which should be swept away and absorbed into the structure, which has not yet passed the stage of aspiration or at most of paper schemes. That may be true of certain States of which the present writer has no knowledge, it is certainly untrue of Baroda. The late Maharaja, assisted by an able Diwan and an able staff, had laid the foundations too well, and if the would-be rulers of India can govern her as well as the State is now governed they will not have much with which to reproach themselves. The season was not an easy one. The period included the collapse of France and the increasing spread of the war. That alone had its own repercussions. The customs revenue at the ports fell, though not greatly. The woollen mills worked on war contracts. But the rainfall was unevenly distributed. In Kathiawar, where it is always light, there was so little that famine relief had to be started, and this applied also to the north of the Raj. On the other hand, the rain was too heavy in the south and the centre, though the floods do not seem to have been anything like so destructive as they were in 1927. Relief was also given there, though to no great extent. But the Government of the Maharaja had to be carried on. It has only been possible to touch on a few of the State's many activities, but enough has been said to show that these are as efficient as ever. The Maharaja has pledged the full resources of his State to the help of the United Nations. We can only hope that in the final victory Baroda will be able to participate and to continue her beneficent career under the auspices of Maharaja Pratap Singh.

THE WAR EFFORT IN MYSORE

By M. S. SWAMINATHAN, M.A.

Men and money for the war against the Axis—Mysore has hearkened to the call. Not men and money alone, for Mysore has realized that these are not the sole sinews of war. The State has been harnessing all her industrial resources for the successful prosecution of the war against the Nazi and the Japanese menace, and no effort is

spared by the many industrial concerns in the State to put forth their best to help the United Nations in the hour of need. The value of such spontaneous and effective help has been keenly appreciated by the military authorities of the Government of India. Thanks to the valuable suggestions of the officers of the Supply Department, the industrial concerns have enlarged their usefulness for war production and are ever increasing their scope of supply.

Mysore supplies cotton, ammonia and acetate for explosives, iron and steel for armaments, silk for aeroplanes, carbonized coconut shells for gas-masks, timber for military camps, and a variety of articles for Army clothing and equipment.

Practically the entire output of the iron and steel works has been at the disposal of the Government of India. Mainly with the object of increasing war production, the works have been further expanded. An additional open hearth furnace is being constructed, and orders have been placed for a strip mill at a cost of Rs 18 lakhs. An electrical steel furnace for the manufacture of special steels and an electric furnace for the manufacture of ferro alloys are working. Another electric furnace for the manufacture of ferro alloys is under erection.

Another factory is on the list for the supply of various stores. Transformers of various capacities, mathematical instruments, plastic containers for medical use, machine bolts, fuse boxes, and moulded combs and metal buttons are among those manufactured in this factory.

A third factory has been supplying low tension and high tension insulators, acid-resistant ware and crockery.

Still another factory has been supplying synthetic ammonia and ammonium sulphate. It is equipped to manufacture 'Oleum' also.

Field service medical articles are also being supplied. A number of pharmaceutical products conforming to British Standard Specifications are among them, including tinctures, tablets, spirits, ointments, disinfectants, sulphurated oils and malt extract have been supplied. Cream of tartar is also supplied for medical purposes and for making baking powder.

Supply of parachute fabric and components such as silk cords and braids for parachutes are being supplied. Manufacture of dichromate required for khaki dyeing and leather tanning was commenced after the war began and placed on a firm footing.

The supply of war requirements has not been confined to Government concerns. Private industrialists and small producers are also producing materials for war work. The supply of handloom blankets, activated charcoal and coconut shell buttons has been organized through small producers.

With the object of bringing private producers into closer contact with war supply organizations, and also in order to secure necessary co-ordination, a Director of Industrial Planning has been appointed with the special responsibility of advising and assisting members of the public interested in meeting the requirements of the Department of Supply.

A private factory has been supplying industrial alcohol for munition purposes and power alcohol for mixture with petrol. Arrangements have been made for the organized supply of dehydrated potatoes. The Indian Coffee Board are supplying requirements of the Army in regard to coffee. Glass and enamel works supply tumblers, salt cellars and dishes and other glassware. The paper mills and cement works have been contributing their share.

Woolen, cotton and silk mills have been supplying Army clothing of various kinds.

War technicians are being trained in all State and private workshops and institutions and factories.

A Board of Industrial Planning and Co-ordination has been constituted with the Minister in-Charge of the industries as chairman. It meets quarterly, and reviews the progress in production, stimulates scientific and technical research, and co-ordinates civil production in the State, so as to ensure a steady and ever increasing stream of supplies to the defence services and to meet the essential needs of the community and to fill up gaps in supplies from abroad.

TALES OF MY GRANDFATHER

BY JOHN KAVANAGH

PART IV

In the last number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* my memoir of my late grandfather, Sir David Davidson, was carried to the point at which, partly through the good offices of his friend, Sir James Outram, Sir David had received an appointment on the recently sanctioned Revenue Survey of the Deccan

And now follows David Davidson's account of his new avocation. It is preferable to give his own words

"About the time the Tenant Right League was attempting to obtain, by agitation, some modification of the Land Tenure in Ireland—that is, in 1837—the Government of Bombay was moving in the direction of granting relief to the over-assessed tenantry of the Deccan. When we took over the country we took along with it the Land Settlement of Aurungzebe, which, whatever may have been its merits when originated, was in our day found to be most unequal and oppressive, and especially in consequence of the fall in prices which followed the establishment of our rule. It was a take all from those who can give, and as much as you can from those who have little. The demand was pitched so high that it could not be realized, even in favourable seasons, so a system was instituted of annual inspection of crops, and a modification of the demand founded on that inspection. To carry this out, a host of low paid native officials, with itching palms, was let loose upon the ryots, and, as might be expected, there was bribery and corruption, and the levying of money that never found its way into the coffers of the State. Besides, it was like offering a premium on bad tillage, as he who showed the worst crop had the least to pay. The result of this system was that a vast amount of land was thrown out of cultivation. There was no regular eviction of tenants, the tenants evicted themselves, or, in famine years, died of starvation. Villages in vast numbers were deserted, and the land overgrown with low jungle, the harbour of wild beasts.

"This lamentable state of affairs was so often pressed upon Government that it was resolved to introduce a better settlement, and to this end a survey was commenced—but without a sufficient staff of European assistants to check the Brahmin agents, who took bribes, so that the work was vitiated, and abandoned after a very large expenditure. This failure created, especially in the Council, so strong a feeling against Revenue Surveys, that it required a very ardent and energetic mind to overcome it.

"As the failure of the first Survey was caused by the unprincipled character of the Brahmin agency, and as these Brahmins had been allowed to monopolize education, and were the only natives available, it was resolved to establish such a system of check and remuneration for honest work as would make it worth their while to be faithful. My grandfather, however, explains that, while originally it had been intended merely to correct the errors of the first survey, this was soon found to be so entirely inaccurate that a completely fresh survey and classification of the soil was resolved upon. Their first season was therefore largely of a provisional and initiatory character.

During the second season in the Sholapore District my grandfather was employed on the survey of the Talooka of Mohol. In laying the condition of the Talooka before Government, instead of long tables of figures, he made use of symbolic diagrams, which conveyed through the eye a correct impression of past measures and their results. The principal of these was a rectangle nearly in the form of a square, down which lines were drawn representing each year since the Talooka came into British possession. Across this figure was a scale, which was both for acres and rupees. The rectangle, according to the scale, gave the entire arable land in the Talooka, and, on the upright line for each year, was marked the land in cultivation that year, below that, on the same line, the assessment of that land (which was always less than one

rupee an acre), and below that again, the amount collected, so that between the two last was seen the amount of remissions. These points in the upright lines for each year were connected by zigzag lines. Thus at a glance was it possible to see, as the rupee line approached the acre line, an increase in the assessment, and as the actual collection line came near the demand line you could see a more rigid levy of the rent, as also that this procedure invariably led in successive years to diminished cultivation, until more than a third of the land was lying waste.

Across the rectangle ran a black line showing the average acres cultivated during the period of British rule, below that a green line, giving the average assessments on the land, and below that a red line gave the average actual collections. Above the last was a blue line, showing what the collections would be on the new rates, supposing the whole land available to be put under the plough, and between that and the average of past collections line was the prospective gain to the State by the survey operations, a result which was speedily realized.

Thus was invented, for the first time without doubt in the history of this planet, that symbolical diagram, as the Oxford Dictionary calls it, expressing a system of mathematical or other co-ordinations. In other words, the graph! But, as so inevitably happens, the inventor was first duly praised by those who do not dream of reward—to wit, the Governments—and then, alas! some years after my retirement, diagrams of statistics were published in this country, so like mine of fifteen years before, that I think the author must have had access to mine at the India House. Naturally!

But David Davidson paused not here. Not he! “In submitting these proposals to Government, I made the following suggestion. I argued that the reduction of the assessment was so liberal that it was a favourable opportunity for introducing a cess for education. The ryots did not set due value on education, therefore, I argued, Government should act *in loco parentis*, and secure that boon for the rising generation. The slight cess I proposed would be sufficient (a) to provide schools enough to reach the children of every village, with a central academy or normal school (furnished with bursaries) for higher education, and to provide teachers for the village schools, (b) also technical schools, and workshops to improve the mechanical resources of the natives, and (c) prizes for superior land cultivation, etc. These suggestions of mine in 1839 were finally adopted, but . . . !” The mark of exclamation is not Sir David’s, it is the writer’s own, for would to God my grandfather’s suggestion had been carried into effect, not only in the Deccan, but in India generally.

Since the introduction, no later than the year 1840, of the above-described system of elementary education, combined with a measure of strictly technical, or craft, instruction, would have brought to the peoples of India (at least 90 per cent of whom even today live on or from the land) almost immeasurable benefits, provided, as Sir David was very careful to point out, that they were most sedulously interwoven with the Indian village system. Of this he says: ‘It has existed throughout India from time immemorial, and although the uniformity and wisdom of its arrangements seem to indicate the plan of some great and beneficent ruler, it is generally regarded as an accidental remnant of the patriarchal ages. In India the urban population [in 1840!] is insignificant, and the population in general is formed into villages, and every village is a little commonwealth. Surrounded by a fortified wall, and possessing its hereditary watchmen, it could protect itself against petty marauders. Its hereditary governor, or patel, was wont to exercise supreme sway, and each of the Heads of Trades was vested with authority over his own caste, while the Panchayat, or Council of Five, settled questions of policy, as well as the more important disputes.

“During my close intercourse with the simple peasantry, he continues, ‘I had formed a very hopeful estimate of their capability for improvement. In a conversation I had with the Duke of Argyll, when he was Secretary of State for India, he expressed his doubt whether, in carrying out my plan of training teachers for the schools from among the cultivators, they would be found fit for the work. Instead of this being the case, as far as the plan had gone, it has been found that some of the best teachers are Kumbis pure and simple, proving that in natural ability they are not inferior to the Brahmins, who have hitherto monopolized the education of the country, while they contribute little to the revenue of the State.’

However, as might be expected, Sir David's simple, all-comprehensive, straightforward educational scheme was by the usual influences whittled away into nothing, and his agrarian proposals, which were proved to be so practical, so just, and also so remunerative to the public purse, followed the same road into oblivion and decay.

To return for a moment to the Revenue Survey. The personages employed upon this vital task seem to have been in many cases of the most microscopic intelligence, for my grandfather records

"I then proposed a new plan for describing the boundaries of fields, as the existing one involved a great deal of writing, and did not give a distinct idea after all. Hitherto we had no village maps." Needless to say, he made the maps, and right good maps they were. He then proceeds "I next suggested an entirely new system for classing the soils, to fix the productive power of each field. The plan hitherto pursued was for the classifier to walk over the field, digging down to the subsoil whenever he thought fit, and then entering in his book so many shares of first class, so many of second, and so through the nine classes of soil, and from that striking the average class of the whole. This system, when practised by trustworthy men, might give a correct result, but it was most difficult to check, and, as we had not a trustworthy agency, it was imperative to have something more definite. My substitute for this was that the classifier, with the aid of the measurer's field book, should make an outline of each field operated on, and then divide it by cross lines into a suitable number of squares, like a chessboard" so that the officer who checked the work could trace the error of the classifier to the very compartment to which it belonged.

"I should here mention," he modestly continues, "another change I introduced. As the permanence of the survey would depend on the preservation of the boundary marks of the fields, and stones only had hitherto been used for that purpose, it was evident that something more permanent was necessary. Mr Goldsmid made the experiment of throwing up ridges round the fields of a village, but the expense was so enormous, this method had to be abandoned. I proposed to Government that ridges should be thrown up at the corners and bends only, and that in ploughing these should be respected, so that in time a continuous strip would be formed between the fields. This was adopted. And from that day, in Western India at least, it has become so difficult as almost to be impossible to indulge in the age-old practice of removing one's neighbour's landmark." This was a mighty and truly epoch-making invention, but who, save in this trivial memoir, has troubled to record the inventor's name?

And now let us turn to another adventure of Outram's. He was out hog hunting, and he and his companions were at the moment walking their horses across a plain, ready for anything that might turn up. Suddenly Outram spied a couple of creatures that looked like kittens playing under a bush of prickly pear. They turned out to be lion cubs. Jumping off his horse, he caught them and stuffed one into each pocket of his coat. When in the act of remounting his horse, he heard a roar, and saw the lioness coming right at him. Before he could get the speed up, she gained rapidly upon him, and gathered herself up for one tremendous bound. She missed her mark by about a foot, but her claws actually combed the horse's tail. Before she could repeat her spring, Outram and the cubs got clean away. Outram, when fleeing for his life, saw one of his companions at a distance, and, thinking he might as well share the excitement, rode straight for him. His friend, who was not a particularly bold horseman, no sooner saw the nature of the chase than he pushed his horse up the side of an adjoining height, and never looked behind him till he reached the top. He was not a little proud of the exploit," records my grandfather, now, as ever, the truthful historian, "and would afterwards point to the steep as a place he rode up when hunting, carefully omitting all reference to Outram, or the lioness."

And now, before we part with Sir David and his experiences in an India which, if not today, at any rate tomorrow or the morrow after that, will irrevocably and entirely have vanished, and which even now is disappearing like mists before the sun, let us pay a visit with him in the February of the year 1836 to the famous Falls of Girsappa. The height of the falls is a matter of 835 feet. "In the afternoon," he says, "we all started to see the falls. The ride was through a wild, broken country, richly clothed

with perennial verdure. The cinnamon shrub, the sandalwood tree, and the wild pepper vine were to be seen among the thicket and tangled brushwood, and the wild flowers, such as the flaming *Gloriosa superba* and the bright and scarlet blossoms of the pullas tree, mingled harmoniously with the endless tints of green. This shady ride brought us to the river just above the falls, and as we approached them the first feeling was one of disappointment. Some of the party who had steady heads stood upon the verge, one of them with half of his feet over it, others crept on all fours, and laid themselves flat, as they drew towards the edge. It was a memorable sight. Looking from the top, there was no object below suited to give a correct idea of the depth. The largest trees were merely diminished into stunted bushes, and the huge rocks into quarried stones. I particularly noticed one of these fragments, which was the shape of a man's shoe, and seemed some twelve feet long, intending to measure it when we went below next day. Before leaving the summit we resolved to try and shove over a block of stone that lay temptingly near the edge. It must have weighed a ton at least, and resisted every effort to move it from its place. At last we got levers, and, assisted by the guides, the block was put in motion. A shout was uttered when it cleared the brink and took the fearful leap. Down it went, turning helplessly, and decreasing rapidly in bulk, till at last, when near the bottom, it struck a projecting ledge, and was shivered with a crash that rose above the thunder of the falls. More than half the mass was broken into atoms, but the remaining portion darted off at a right angle, and seemed to labour slowly across the chasm. After some seconds had elapsed, it struck the opposite scarp with the force of a cannon shot, and disappeared in a cloud of dust. The sight was grand, and in a measure unaccountable, for we could not understand why this remaining piece made such slow progress across the gulf, and yet struck the opposite cliff with such tremendous force. Arrested by a rock, not far from the edge of the fall, lay a tree, and this, after some labour, we managed to launch into the central stream. Over it went amidst the shooting waters, twisting and twirling in its descent, till it seemed no bigger than a twig, and then disappeared in the gush of waters.

Next morning, rising with the sun, we rode to the bank of the river, a mile below the falls. Soon a column of vapour, rising from the deep gorge, told us we were near the falls. The bottom proved a frightful place. Huge rocks, rent from the cliffs by some terrible convulsion that must have shaken the world to its centre, lay heaped in wild confusion, glossy and black with the unceasing mist. Rushing through them in anxious haste gurgled the deep waters, as if still frightened by their recent fall. Hanging over us, like the dark walls of Hades, rose the stupendous sides of the abyss, as the torrents poured madly down, it seemed as if once more the floodgates of heaven were opened, and a second deluge had visited a guilty world, when high aloft, suspended in the cloud of ever rising mist, appeared a perpetual rainbow. A cataract of water tumbling from such a height can hardly be described. For the first hundred feet it retains its liquid appearance, then down it rushes with a form and consistency peculiarly its own. Towards the middle I can liken it to nothing but a volley of steam rockets, which, detaching themselves from the central column, seem eager to outstrip it and bury themselves in the abyss, but their light, vapoury heads, unable to displace the opposing atmosphere, disperse and vanish in mid air.

'I must not omit to mention that we sought out and measured the piece of rock shaped like a shoe, that from the summit seemed about twelve feet long, it proved thirty-seven paces, or somewhat more than ninety feet! We were also enabled to account for the strange appearance presented by the falling block of stone. The projecting ledge of rock on which it struck, instead of being, as it had seemed to us, near the bottom of the fall, was little more than one-third from the top. Thus, when we fancied the remaining fragment to be labouring across the gorge, it was in reality descending at the same time many hundred feet, so that it struck the opposite cliff with an accelerated force sufficient to reduce it to the shower of atoms that fell into the pool beneath.'

It has often seemed to me that the foregoing *experimentum in vivo* might, and indeed does, throw, by analogy, great quantities of illumination on many astronomical problems. For example, it can be stated as dogmatically as such things ever are stated,

that the rough 186,000 miles a second which constitutes the speed of light is at once the norm and the ultimate of force-projection in our material universe, nevertheless, the spectroscope shows us flocks of island universes which *appear* to be scattering, like scores of frightened rabbits, at speeds far exceeding the velocity of light. Can this be so, or are we in the presence of an optical illusion, analogous but opposite to that of the labouring stone? The speculation is, to say the least of it, interesting.

And now I must bring this memoir, which I have called "Tales of My Grandfather," to an end. In this regard, I feel I cannot do better than quote somewhat freely from what was in effect an authoritative summing up of the great work in which my grandfather took such an officially unregarded and yet decisive part—the Revenue Survey of the Deccan. The speaker was Sir Bartle Frere, the date October, 1864, and the occasion the twenty-fifth anniversary of the commencement of the Revenue Survey. Sir William Mansfield, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, was present at the meeting.

Sir Bartle said. Nearly thirty years had passed since he was personally connected with the operations which led to the commencement of the survey in the Bombay Presidency, and he was himself employed in the districts in which the survey was first introduced. It was impossible to give anyone, who had not seen the country at the time he was speaking of, an idea of how this India, which is always said to be immutable, had changed for the better, and how much of that change was due to one good measure of administration steadily and consistently carried out. The situation was shortly this. Rarely more than two-thirds of the cultivable land in any district was under cultivation. Frequently as much as two-thirds of the land was waste. Villages, almost deserted, were frequently to be met with, some were without a light in them, utterly uninhabited. The people were sunk in the lowest poverty, they had few recognized rights in the land. The rates were so much higher than could possibly be paid at the existing price of produce, that it was necessary to grant remissions, of the necessity and extent of which the local [native] officials were the sole judges, and it was thus left practically to a very ill-paid class of inferior officials to decide what was to be taken from the people. If anyone were now to visit the places of which he had spoken, he would find that the statements which had been laid before them that day failed to give an adequate idea of the whole truth. In fact, bare figures could not describe the progress that had been made in any district where the survey rates of assessment had been long in operation. Cultivation had been increased to a truly remarkable extent, so much so that he believed it would now be difficult to find anywhere, in the Deccan even, a thousand acres of unoccupied land, available for anyone wishing to take up land for cultivation. The increase in the public revenue was, perhaps, even more striking, but he would always, in estimating the benefits of the survey, give but a secondary place to the increase of Government revenue. For it had been clearly laid down by the Government, which originated the survey, that financial considerations were to be held of minor importance, and that they were to look rather to the indirect results of fixity of tenure and moderate assessment, and to the consequent improvement in the condition of the ryot, than to the direct increase of land revenue. In judging of these results it is impossible to over-estimate the obligations of the Government and the country to the survey officers, who year after year have devoted themselves to the very important but monotonous and trying duties of their department, with a zeal and perseverance which are beyond praise. If he wished to show to a foreigner how the English keep India, he would show him men of this stamp, who, living habitually far remote from our Presidency towns and large stations, by their free association with the people of the country, and by the expression of a sincere sympathy with their wants, promoted their welfare, and attracted the affections and respect of the agricultural classes to the British Government.

Thus Sir Bartle Frere. My grandfather adds "I sincerely wish that the sentiments expressed by Sir Bartle Frere as to the importance of maintaining a low assessment on the land had influenced his successors in the government of the country. It is a matter of deep regret that on the expiry of the first leases, which led to such an increase in the land revenue, the Government of the day, not satisfied with this, imposed a very much higher demand."

"The present system," continues Sir David, "of governing India from Whitehall can never be a real success. The most successful of India's rulers have been those chosen from the *élite* of its civil and military services. India is far off Home Rule. The natives of India who in these days are seeking Home Rule are just those in whom the great body of the people have the least confidence." These words were, of course, written by Sir David more than fifty years ago.

And now comes the time for the departure of my grandfather from India. Of himself he says "Now came my farewell to India, a land which takes a powerful hold of the heart and memory of any who have been brought into close contact with its various tribes, and have had to deal with some of the problems which affect the well-being of its people. But I had the satisfaction of feeling when I left the service that I had not been a 'Company's hard bargain.' I had worked hard for twenty years, half under canvas, and my accumulated leave of absence had not amounted to six months. The work which I had helped to originate had not only been a benefit to the cultivating population, but had added largely to the public revenue, and my retiring pension left a burden on the State 'of almost imperceptible dimensions'."

The voyage home—by steamer this time!—passed without incident as far as Suez, at which point it was, of course, necessary to disembark, the Suez Canal slumbering still in the genial brain of that great man of affairs, de Lesseps. Nor was there any Cairo-Suez railway. However, Sir David records that of late years some progress had been made, for 'cars drawn by horses had been substituted for the inevitable donkey. A few years before, when Dr Smyton landed at Suez, in company with Dr Wilson, his first exclamation consisted of three words, comprising three languages 'Beaucoup donkey hai!' the last standing for 'are' in the land he had just left." Cairo seems to have interested my grandfather greatly. Cairo realized to me, more than India had done, the conception of Eastern things and ways, imprinted on my mind by my juvenile study of the *Arabian Nights*." That charming eighteenth-century French anthology of Arabic and Persian tales, *The Thousand Nights and a Night*, has first raised, then quenched, so many romantic dreams about the East that it is quite a relief to find mid nineteenth-century Cairo fulfilling the somewhat awe inspiring *mise-en scène* laid down for the veritable gorgeous East."

And naturally my grandfather had to climb the Great Pyramid. "Of course, the first thing thought of was a visit to the Pyramids. This had to be accomplished on donkeys, by a rough track along the edges of the irrigated fields. After trying one highly commended by his juvenile attendant, I found that, in order to dismount, I had only to stand on my toes and let the creature pass from under me. The Pyramids look provokingly near when they are a good way off. The ascent was less difficult than I expected, long legs being at a premium when climbing over the big limestone blocks. The exploration of the interior was next accomplished." But I do not think that we shall accompany my good grandparent any farther on his voyage through life. It is well to think of him as standing on the summit of the masterpiece of Khefu—"the space at the apex is more roomy than one expects"—gazing first northwards over the Delta towards Alexandria and the sea, then eastwards, over the irrigated acres, over Memphis, over Cairo, and over the Arabian desert, then southwards towards Assiut, and Luxor, and Khartoum, and far off into the fairyland of the sources of the Nile, and finally westwards to those spaces which our troops and transports know so well. It is not necessary today to recapitulate them.

More than fifty years of life still lay before my grandfather, but in some sense it may without grave injustice be said that the best part of his long life's work had already been done. He was to return to Scotland he was to marry, he was to prosper, he was to beget five sons and five daughters, of whom three and five are living to this day, he was to be made, and for upwards of forty years to remain, an elder of Free St. George's Church in Edinburgh, he was to be the principal inspirer, and in many respects the "only begetter" of the Queen's Edinburgh Rifle Volunteer Brigade, of which he became in due course Honorary Colonel, he was to invent the collimator (the first known device by which siege guns could accurately be fired at night), he was to offer this invention to the War Office of the time, at a moment when it could have shortened the deadly siege of Sevastopol by many months. But he was no longer in India, and as has been written

"Throughout the thankless years,
 Those of my House have toiled in Hindostan,
 Bringing the tribes civilisation's boon
 How small the out-turn of their hopes and fears,
 The tilth so slow, the sparse crop cut too soon,
 And yet, each man himself, how like a Man!"

In his eighty ninth year, in the spring of 1900, my grandfather died. His body lies in the churchyard of that *Lucerna Loudonia*, the Lamp of Lothian, that beautiful half ruinous Abbey at Haddington, in the interior of which, not forty yards away, is buried the loved one of his youth, the friend of his maturer years, sweet Jeanie Welsh Carlyle.

AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TURKEY LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU

BY SIDNEY BALLISTER

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU, the wife of Mr Edward Wortley, who was at one time the English Ambassador to Turkey, was one of the most fascinating women of her day, and, moreover, one of the most 'modern' and daring.

During her girlhood she led a retired life in the country, but shortly after her marriage she was in London with her husband—the London of the coffee houses and the Court, of Addison and Steele, the great essayists, and of the poet Alexander Pope, who at first did much to enhance Lady Mary's prestige, but in the end was to drive her out of England by the scurrilous attacks that he made upon her when she had the temerity to laugh at his protestations of love.

Lady Mary rapidly became a centre of fashionable attention in London. Her wit and her beauty would have been sufficient passport to the ranks of the great in any age, in eighteenth-century London—a London that was perhaps more superficially elegant and certainly more witty than at any other age in English history—everything combined to add to her popularity. Among the many political currents of the day she steered a safe course. Popular on all sides, Lady Mary was able to intrigue her husband into the position of Ambassador to Istanbul.

Lady Mary's spirit was one of adventure. She was never of the stay at home breed. As a child she had been found by Edward Wortley busily engaged in reading *Ibrahim ou l'Illustré Pacha* at the very point where the Sultan, in the absence of the noble hero, declares his evil and ungrateful passion to the lovely heroine. Ever since then Lady Mary had had an urge to visit the land of the Turk, and we may be sure that she assisted in every way possible to obtain the appointment for her husband, the more so as she had no intention whatever of being left behind in England when he departed to take up his mission.

It cost Mary a pang to think that she must leave London, so recently conquered by her charms. Her poems were being handed about London, compliments on them reached her daily, as did missives from several gentlemen upon whom she smiled in public but discreetly refused to see in private. She was in constant demand for every kind of entertainment, from riding with the King at Richmond to playing cards with the Princess at Court or to giving an opinion on a play. Her world was a wide one, she was one of the very select few who went to the first concerts that were ever held in England, or indeed in Europe. It is recorded that one night she crept out of the house and allowed herself to be carried to a dingy building in Clerkenwell. She wrinkled her brow at the poverty of the place to which she was taken, but, reassured by her escort, she ventured to make her way through the darkness of a coal cellar dimly lit by a lantern, and, clutching her skirts, felt her way up a ladder into a loft. There was a little more light here, and she pulled her hood right down over her face so that she should not be recognized by the several ladies and gentlemen of fashion

that she saw gathered there. At one end of the room several candles were set on a harpsichord, and some queer looking men were grouped around a stand with music set on it. She was told that this was the home of the coal pedlar and musician, Thomas Britton, the most fashionable resort of the dilettanti in London. She herself recognized the plain figure of Mr Handel, the German prodigy, while the figure at the harpsichord was Pepusch. She records that although the smoke stung her eyes she listened raptly to the divine melodies that filled the long, low coal loft.

These were the famous coal merchant's concerts that were the forerunners of the great concerts we enjoy today.

The journey to Turkey was another such adventure. Travel has become much easier since Lady Mary's day for the Wortleys the journey overland to Istanbul was something in the nature of a superhuman effort. "We came late to Belgrade," she writes in 1717, "the deep snows making the ascent to it very difficult." "I have now, Madam," she writes to the Princess of Wales when she is at Edirne on April 1, 1717, "passed a journey that has not been undertaken by any Christian since the time of the Greek emperors." From the same town she writes in another letter "I am now got into a new world, where everything I see appears to me a change of scene." All her life Lady Mary was to be a glutton for new things, new sights and new experiences. It was at Edirne that she went to a seraglio in a letter she explains the building, and then goes on "I was in my travelling habit, which is a riding dress, and certainly appeared very odd to them (the ladies who were taking a bath), yet here was not one of them that showed the least surprise or impertinent curiosity, but received me with all obliging civility possible. I know no European Court where the ladies would have behaved themselves in so polite a manner to a stranger. I believe on the whole there were two hundred women, and yet none of those disdainful smiles or satiric whispers that never fail in our assemblies when anybody appears that is not dressed exactly in the fashion. They repeated over and over to me

"Uzelle, pek uzelle," which is nothing but "Charming, very charming." A little later in the same letter she makes the very pertinent observation that if it was the fashion to go naked, the face would hardly be observed. She expresses the wish that Mr Jervis, one of the fashionable painters of the day, could have been with her because she is convinced that the sight of so many beautiful bodies would have been of great benefit to his not always very skilful drawing. And towards the end of the letter she relates the adventure that befell her when she was entreated to take a bath "I excused myself with some difficulty. They being all so earnest in persuading me, I was at last forced to open my shirt and show them my stays, which satisfied them very well, for I saw they believed I was so locked up in that machine that it was not in my power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband." The letter betrays a deliberately carnal point of view, and there was not wanting malice in London to put a false interpretation on it. We must remember, however, that the age was a good deal coarser than the twentieth century, and details and even words which are now taboo were common currency in the eighteenth century.

The next item of news that reached London was that Lady Mary had adopted Turkish costume. She describes it in a letter, again dated April 1, and addressed to the Countess of Mar from Edirne. "The first piece of my dress is a pair of drawers, very full, that reach to my shoes and conceal the legs more modestly than your petticoats. They are of thin rose-coloured damask. Over this hangs my smock of fine white silk gauze. It is closed at the neck with a diamond button, but the shape and colour of the bosom very well to be distinguished through it. My caftan, of the same stuff as my drawers, is a robe exactly fitting to my shape and reaching to my feet. The headdress is composed of a cap, called 'talpoek,' which is in winter of fine velvet and in summer of a light shining silver stuff."

All her life Lady Mary was to be an interested observer of things new and strange. Her observations are always interesting, sometimes they have a real scientific or æsthetic importance. One of the most interesting things of which she writes is in a letter from Edirne. It must be remembered that a little while before she left London Lady Mary had been ill with smallpox, one of the most dreaded scourges of the day, and for some time she had been in dread of losing her good looks—a fear which, happily, was groundless. Furthermore, her brother, for whom she had a great love,

had, during her youth, actually died of smallpox. Remembering these facts, there is a very great personal interest, as well as scientific value, in her letter dated, again, April 1 (April 1 seems to have been a day of general letter writing.)

"Apropos of distempers, I am going to tell you something that I am sure will make you wish yourself here. The smallpox, fatal and so general amongst us, is here entirely harmless by the invention of 'ingrafting,' which is the term they give it. There is a set of old women who make it their business to perform the operation every autumn, in the month of September, when the great heat is abated. People send to one another to know if any of their family has a mind to have the smallpox; they make parties for this purpose, and when they are met (commonly fifteen or sixteen together) the old woman comes with a nutshell full of the matter of the best sort of smallpox, and asks what veins you please to have opened. She immediately rips open that you offer her with a large needle (which gives no more pain than a common scratch) and puts into the vein as much venom as can lie upon the head of her needle, and after binds up the wound with a bit of hollow shell, and in this manner opens four or five veins. The children or young patients play together all the day and are in perfect health to the eighth. Then the fever begins to seize them, and they keep their beds two days, rarely three. They have very rarely above twenty or thirty (pocks) on their faces, which never mark, and in eight days' time they are well as before their illness. Every year thousands undergo their operation, and the French Ambassador says very pleasantly that here they take the smallpox by way of diversion, as they take the waters in other countries. I am patriot enough to take the pains to bring this useful invention into fashion in England, and I should not fail to write to some of our doctors very particularly about it, if I knew any one of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy so considerable part of their revenue for the good of mankind. I am very well satisfied with the safety of this experiment, since I intend to try it on my dear little son."

Thus in 1717 came the first news of vaccination to England. Lady Mary was as good as her word. She had her son "engrafted" and, in March of the following year (she had clearly taken plenty of time to satisfy herself of the efficacy of the "experiment"), we find her writing to Mr. Wortley Montagu, "The boy was engrafted last Tuesday, and is at this time playing and singing, and very impatient for his supper."

To interrupt the chronology for a moment, Lady Mary's fears concerning the attitude of the doctors seems to have been as shrewd as most of her other observations. It was not until 1798, some eighty years after the date of her letter, that Edward Jenner advanced a system of vaccination against smallpox. He has, too, generally been given the credit of having been the inventor of the treatment. It is, perhaps, true to say that he perfected the system, but the honour of having been the first to introduce vaccination into England must go to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, for it was she who saw it in Turkey, it was she who had her son engrafted (the first known vaccination of an Englishman), and it was she who took the system back with her to England and vaccinated many hundreds, if not thousands, of English people, particularly in the year 1719, when there was one of the worst epidemics ever known in England of smallpox. Several thousand people died of it, thousands more were disfigured. Mary herself inoculated many people, and her surgeon, Maitland, treated many more. Nearly all of those treated lived after a very mild attack of the disease. The Princess of Wales was greatly interested in these experiments, and the time was not far distant when one of the small princes was to be vaccinated. Lady Mary was, at this time, the most famous woman in London.

To return, however, to Turkey. The eighteenth century was the golden age of letter writing, and Lady Mary was one of the best of letter-writers. On every conceivable subject we find her writing fascinating letters to her friends, telling them about a thousand details of her life, of her opinions and of the things that she has seen. She must have been the first Englishwoman ever really to appreciate Turkey, the Turk and Turkish customs and ways of life. At one time we find her describing the mosque of Aya Sofia (which she appeared to have had difficulty in seeing). It is absolutely false that the Turks defaced all the images they found in the City. The dome of St. Sophia is said to be one hundred and thirteen feet in



LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU
From an original miniature

An Englishwoman in Eighteenth Century Turkey

Lo face p. 404

diameter, built upon arches, and sustained by vast pillars of marble" A little later, with a rare modesty, she continues "This is a very dull description of this celebrated building, but I understand architecture so little that I am afraid of talking nonsense."

At another time she is describing the fascinating details of a wedding ceremony at which she was present "It is not easy to represent to you [the Countess of Bristol, April 10, 1718] the beauty of this sight, most of them (two hundred women present at and partaking in the ceremony) being well proportioned and white skinned, all of them perfectly smooth and polished by the frequent use of bathing."

It must be remembered that in the England of Lady Mary's day bathing was an operation to be embarked upon only at very rare intervals, and after much preparation. Even then, the act of bathing was more often than not merely the scanty washing of the body with a meagre basin of warm water.

Throughout the letters that she wrote from Istanbul, Lady Mary is at pains to make the Turk and the Turkish ways of thought known to her English friends. "Your whole letter is full of mistakes from one end to the other," she wrote in 1717 to an English friend "I see you have taken your ideas of Turkey from that worthy author Dumont, who has written with equal ignorance and confidence. At the same time she was at pains to correct certain inaccurate notions that she found to be prevalent in Turkey concerning English people she records that Fatima said to her "with a smile that made her as handsome as an angel," "You Christian ladies have the reputation of inconstancy and if you knew how I speak of you among our ladies, you would be assured that you do me justice if you think of me as your friend."

Of some of the earlier writers on Turkey, notably Sir Paul Rycaut, who should have known better, as he was in Turkey as a Consul for some years and wrote the first book on Turkey to be published in England, she is frankly scornful "I am inclined to tell you the falsehood of great part of what you find in authors," she says, with a stinging sarcasm, as she goes on to talk of the Turkish women and the lamentations that writers have lavished upon their state of confinement "Turkish ladies, she says, "are perhaps freer than any ladies in the universe, and are the only women in the world that lead a life of uninterrupted pleasure exempt from cares."

However, the time of her stay in Turkey was drawing to an end when she wrote in early 1718 "I am preparing now to leave Istanbul, and I tell you it's with regret, I am used to the air, and have learnt the language," and, in regard to the language, she certainly made extensive excursions into it from several points of view. We find that she sends Turkish love letters to her friends, with full instructions both as to their use and their meaning, and the meaning is given both in the Turkish and in translation.

"I have got you, as you desire, a Turkish love-letter. The translation of it literally is as follows The first piece you should pull out of the purse is a pearl, which is in Turkish called Ingı, and should be understood in this manner

İngi	Sensin Guzelerin gingi
Pearl	Fairest of the young
Pul	Derdime derman bul
Jonquil	Have pity on my passion
Gul	Ben aglarım sen gul
A rose	May you be pleased and all your sorrows mine!
Gira	Esking ilen oldum ghira
A match	I burn, I burn! my flame consumes me!

' And, by the way of a postscript

Biber	Bize zir dogm haber
Pepper	Send me an answer

"There are, I believe, a million of these verses designed for this use. There is no colour, no flower, no weed, no fruit, herb, pebble or feather, that has not a verse

belonging to it, and you may quarrel or send letters of passion without ever inking your fingers."

Back in London, Lady Mary enjoyed a period of intense fame and popularity. She was feted and lauded by all the fashionable world, and thus despite the fact that her husband's mission was deemed to have been a failure. But there was a sad shock waiting her. As is always the case when great success is allied to a biting tongue and a stinging pen, Lady Mary had many jealous enemies who were but waiting for an opportunity to translate their jealousy into something active. Their chance came when Lady Mary incurred the enmity of Alexander Pope.

There had been a great friendship between these two, a proud friendship on the part of Pope, who, sensitive of his humble origin, and very conscious of his misshapen body, was flattered by the attention that he got from Lady Mary. He foolishly allowed his feelings to pass the bounds of discretion, and when, one day, he declared his passion to her, Mary burst into uncontrollable peals of laughter.

Pope never forgave her, and, smarting from an outraged dignity and the consciousness that he had made a fool of himself, he went away to compose some of the most venomous lines that have ever been used in literary quarrels. Many of the lines which were current at the time are quite unpublishable today. Unfortunately Lady Mary had, by her outspoken and not very conventional life, given him plenty of material to draw upon, and he used it to the fullest advantage. The storm might have died down, despite the amusement that it gave to the fashionable world, had not Lady Mary herself entered into combat with him. Pope was more than a match for her, bitter as she could be on occasion, and when she went further and employed literary hacks to turn out foul verses directed against Pope, the war became so bitter and the hidden reticences of her life were so mercilessly revealed by Pope that at the age of fifty she determined to leave London and spend her days abroad, where the stings of the outraged lover could not reach her.

For several years she travelled in different countries, expressing pleasure to those few friends with whom she kept up a correspondence that abroad she found none of the infamy that had been hers before she left England. The great Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was known in the Courts of Europe as the instigator of engrafting for smallpox, she was known as a letter writer, she was known by her earlier reputation as a Court wit and poet. These qualifications ensured her a welcome.

After many years abroad, however, family reasons called her back to London. She was much changed from the Lady Mary who had captured London many years earlier. Her friends had many of them died, her indiscretions, although not completely forgotten, were no longer of importance. She devoted what years remained to her to the installation of her daughter in the heart of the fashionable world—and, as with other things that she attempted, she succeeded, despite a terrible disease in her breast, which left her very few painless moments. She bore bravely with the pain as she had borne bravely with the other disadvantages, and when, finally, after a life more than normally full, she died, she left to posterity, portrayed in her letters, a personality that is worthy of standing by any of the really great women of history.

Editor's Note—There have, of course, been many changes in the Turkish tongue since Lady Mary was in Istanbul in the very early eighteenth century. The translation is in each case quite free, but we are advised that it is a translation that sufficiently conveys the sense. Nevertheless, we print below a corrected version of the Turkish, modernized, as we are informed, in accordance with present-day Turkish, together with a more literal translation.

Inci	Sensin Güzelerin genci
Pearl	The most beautiful of the young
Gül	Ben ağlarum sen gül
A rose	I weep and you laugh.
Çira	Aşkin ile oldum çira
A match	With your love I become a candle
Biber	Bize bir doğru haber
Pepper	Send me an answer

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF TURKEY

By DR. NEÇMI ÖSTEN

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It is interesting to study the internal organization of a country which is one of the very few not to be drawn into the vortex of the war. This country is the democratic Republic of Turkey.

The institution of the Republic in Turkey did not indicate merely a complete change of form of government, it represented also the beginning of a revolutionary period in the social life of the country.

The political, economic and juridical life of Turkey has radically altered both in system and in basic structure, so much so that a completely modern State has been created and built upon the ruins of the old Ottoman Empire.

In order to emphasize this change of government, brought about after the War of Independence which followed the World War of 1914, and the important part played by Kemal Ataturk, the late President of the Republic, in its realization, the expression "Kemalist Turkey" is often used.

What then is the administrative organization of this modern State?

The subject may be divided into three parts, which correspond to the three great epochs of Turkish history.

(i) From the foundation of the Ottoman Empire to the "Tanzimat" (1308-1839).

(ii) From the "Tanzimat," which is the date when new ideas were introduced into the archaic structure of the State, to the Republic (1839-1923). This period embraces two constitutional movements.

(iii) The Republican period (1923 to the present day).

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

I Osman Bey, later the Sultan Osman (or Othman), the founder of the Ottoman State in 1308, appointed in certain large towns Kadis for the control of administrative and judicial affairs and Subasis for control of public safety and police. Thus the foundations of administrative organization were laid among the Ottoman Turks at an early date.

In the reign of Orhan, son of Osman, the organization of the interior was developed. Ala ud-din Bey was charged by his brother, the Sultan, to organize the formidable Ottoman army (known as the Janissaries), at the same time he made considerable reforms in the administrative machine of the country. This, however, was developed to a high degree in the reign of Sultan Murad Hudavendigar.

The country was divided into Eyalets and these again into Sanjaks. In each Eyalet there was a Beylerbeyi, and in each Sanjak a Mirliva, appointed directly by the Wazir. Administrative and military organization ran on parallel lines, the Beylerbeyi and the Mirliva were commanders of the local army set up by the "Timar" and "Zaamat" systems. At this period the Ottoman Empire attached great importance to the creation of a perfect administrative system, which would make possible the establishment of a strong and powerful standing army.

This careful organization achieved its objects in the reign of Kanuni Suleiman the Ottoman Empire had spread over three continents and comprised an area of 6,000,000 square kilometres.

Thus the Ottoman Turks founded an empire which was the strongest and greatest of its time. Immense though it was and extremely powerful, it was far from being homogeneous, and one system of administrative organization was not suited to the needs of the different parts of the interior.

After the conquest of south-east Europe two principal Beylerbeyi were set up—that of Europe and that of Anatolia, which to some extent resembled the present General Inspectorates, with which we shall deal later. This administrative organization of the Empire lasted until 1574.

In view of the need for enlarging the scope of the administration, the organization was developed in 1574 on certain regional lines. The country was now divided into several Eleyets, each of these into several Sanjaks, each Sanjak into several Mutesellimlik, each Mutesellimlik into several Voyvodaliks. In each Eleyet there was a Beylerbeyi corresponding to the Vali, in each Sanjak a Mirliva, who was the equivalent of the Mutasharif, in each Mutesellimlik a Mutesellim, analogous to the Kaymakam of today, and finally a Voyvoda, who was simply the Nahiye Mudir of the present day.

In the administrative organization of the Empire there were also a certain number of privileged local governments which typify the character peculiar to the interior administration of the Ottoman Empire, as for instance the autonomous Government of the Crimea, of Erdil, or of Gurjistan. Tunisia and Tripolitania were administered by a sort of autonomous government called Garp Ocakları. Finally, Mecca had *shariṣ* of the Hedjaz called Emirs, who enjoyed a kind of privileged autonomy. At that time the 'Vali' of each Eyalet" held the right of sanctioning death sentences.

Thus we may say that, in order to make the government more elastic, each region was allowed a measure of autonomy in accordance with its geographical position, so that we may infer that the Ottoman Empire was based on the modern principle of decentralization, and this form of government was continued until the seventeenth century.

The administration of so great an empire, with territories extending into Europe, Africa and Asia, however, teemed with difficulties, towards the close of the seven teenth century the first signs of decay began to appear. In the eighteenth century both civil and military administration seemed to be in process of disintegration.

Mahmud II, in an attempt to reform the imperial administration, reduced the number of Eleyets in Anatolia from eighteen to twenty. He seems thus to have intended to set up a strong centralized Government. At the beginning of the eighteenth century revolt broke out among the Janissaries, and the people themselves felt the need of Empire wide civil and military reform. So began a period of transition. Until the end of this period the Empire was administered according to the common law of the land, based chiefly on the principles of Mussulman law, these principles, however, proved inadequate for the ordering of public life in a large country in the nineteenth century. They became both a source of weakness and a pretext for foreign intervention.

II The 'Tanzimat' is the period of Ottoman history between 1839, the date of the famous Charter of Gulhane, and 1876, when the first constitution was promulgated. The Charter of Gulhane was an imperial declaration by which the sovereign, while agreeing to a limitation of his own powers, undertook the application of certain laws. This was an attempt to reorganize the administration of a senile empire which was threatening to break up. The object was therefore the organization of the country, its laws and its administrative machinery, on Occidental lines. In fact, the year 1839 is generally considered as the starting point of legislative and constitutional reforms. In 1864 there was instituted the "Tekkili Vilayet Nizamnamesi" (or the system of organization of Vilayets) which suppressed the Eleyets. This law, which was conceived in a centralizing spirit, laid upon the Vali (or prefect) the duty of referring everything to the central Government. But it was also dictated by the need for a measure of popular participation in the administration, and gave to the Vilayets the character of a local self governing body.

But this law, far from satisfying the local governments, reduced the authority of the Beys and strengthened that of the central administration. The attempt to decentralize resulted, paradoxically, in increased centralization. In 1870, by the law governing the general administration of the Vilayets (İdare-i Umumiyesi vilayet Nizamnamesi), an attempt was made to decentralize on modern lines. This decentralizing movement was specially noticeable in the law of 1875 governing district administration (İdare-i nevahî Nizamnamesi).

It can be said that the statesmen of the Empire wished to establish the "Commune" system of Europe, embodying it in the administrative districts of the country and giving it a local character. There was, in fact, in accordance with this law, an assembly in each district called "Nahiye Mağlisı" and a "Nahiye Mudiri" elected by the people.

Although it was impossible to apply this law to the whole country it continued in force nominally until the proclamation of the Republic, with this difference that the Head of the District was appointed by the Government direct.

But the benevolent spirit which gave rise to the Tanzimat very soon disappeared, and the reign of Abdul Aziz developed into an unbridled despotism. After his deposition and that of his successor Murad, power passed into the hands of Abdul Hamid, later nicknamed the "Red Sultan". He consented to the establishment of a liberal régime in order to curry favour with the Young Turks who had taken part in the deposition of his predecessors. Thus it was that the first constitutional law, the work of Midhat Pasha, was promulgated in Turkey (1876).

From the administrative point of view this law provided for the organization of vilayets on the principle of decentralization and separation of functions, but this separation of functions did not, in fact, establish decentralization in the vilayets. For the authors of the first constitutional law, making half hearted attempts to limit the traditional powers of the Sultanate, at the same time sought to avoid all possibility of conflict.

Abdul Hamid, though pretending at the start of his reign to accept all liberal reforms unconditionally, was only waiting for an opportunity of recovering his powers intact, and of revenging himself on the authors of the Constitution. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 gave him his chance, in the course of it he dissolved the Chamber, which was not to be summoned again till the Revolution of the Young Turks in 1908.

In 1909, after the Red Sultan had been deposed, it was decided to remodel and to modify the Constitution, that was the second constitutional phase. This amended Constitution remained in force until the fall of the Empire. In 1913 a new administrative law was promulgated provisionally, giving a local character to the vilayets and establishing the system of decentralization of administrative law. This law of 1913 was divided into two sections: the first defined the vilayets as a branch of the central administration, the second gave them the character of a local decentralized government. The first abolished the regulations of 1864 and 1870, already described, dividing the country into Vilayet, Liva, Kaza and Nahiyé. This division lasted until the creation of the Republic. The second, decentralizing local government in the Vilayets, remains in force today.

PRESENT DAY ORGANIZATION

III The republican period begins with the awakening of nationalism. The World War had severely tested the Turkish nation. The national territory was partitioned and occupied by the forces of the Allies, especially the Greek Army, which held Izmir and the surrounding country. It was then that there arose the man already renowned for his defence of the Dardanelles during the World War—Kemal Ataturk, who became the leader of the national movement, devoting himself and his talents to his country. In 1919 he landed at Samsun, giving new heart to the cause, he reorganized the scattered forces and began a fresh struggle in Anatolia—the War of Independence. The entire nation from that time believed absolutely that the firm and unshakable will of the people would alone suffice to bring back independence.

Kemal Ataturk called together at Ankara an Assembly representative of the country and of the national will. That was the Constitution of 1921 and the Government of the "Grand National Assembly".

Under the supreme command of Ataturk the army passed to the offensive, and after the annihilation of the enemy peace was signed by Lausanne in 1923. In the same year the "Grand National Assembly" proclaimed the Republic, elected Ataturk as President, and in 1924 decreed the suppression of the Khalifate and the expulsion of the Imperial Family from Turkish territory. A new law was passed in 1924, forming the basis of the present-day Constitution of Turkey. According to this Constitution, which was modified in 1934, the Turkish State is republican, secular, democratic, nationalist and revolutionary.

The right to vote and to stand for the Assembly was granted soon afterwards to Turkish women. Indeed, one may assert that the whole social, juridical, economic and cultural life of Turkey was recreated from its roots.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

This Constitution does not admit entirely of the separation of powers. For the legislative and executive powers are combined in the Grand National Assembly. But the Assembly, though it exercises directly the legislative powers, only exercises the executive through the intermediary of the President of the Republic elected by it and through a Council of Ministers chosen by him. The judicial branch is wholly independent both of the legislature and of the executive.

State control having become a constitutional principle, public services are constantly multiplying. The railways and merchant marine, which used to be private concerns, are now worked by the State. The State also directs banks and industrial undertakings, controls commerce and industry and is showing great activity in the domain of public health and of public assistance.

The administration of legal claims is vested in the Council of State. Turkey thus belongs to those States which admit administrative jurisdiction. Article 89 of the Constitution abolished the *Liva* and restricted the administration to the Province (*Vilayet*), the sub-Province (*Kaza*) and the district (*Nahiye*). In 1929 was passed the Law of Departmental Administration, which is still in force.

As for communal administration, the communes in Turkey are divided into two categories: the villages whose corporate individuality was recognized by the Village Law of 1924, and the municipalities, whose individuality was similarly recognized by the Municipal Law of 1930. Thus the theories of centralization and decentralization of the administrative law have been harmoniously applied by means of administrative trusteeship.

Having thus briefly described the history of the administrative organization, we shall try now to explain the central and communal organizations of the country.

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

The central administration is composed of the President of the Republic, the President of the Council of Ministers, the Council of State and the Court of Exchequer, which looks after financial affairs.

A *The President of the Republic* in his capacity of Chief of the State, possesses all the prerogatives of the administrative domain, he appoints Government officials, promulgates laws, exercises the right of mercy and represents the supreme command of the army, which latter is controlled by the corporate body of the National Assembly. These prerogatives are the subject of decrees which must be countersigned by the President of the Council and the Minister concerned. They are published in the official gazette.

B *The Ministries*—Each Ministry is under the authority of one Minister. The Council of Ministers is composed of the Ministers. The number of Ministers is determined by the President of the Council with the previous approval of the President of the Republic. The President of the Council normally presides over the Council, but the President of the Republic has the right to do so when he thinks it necessary or advisable. The Ministers are chosen from the members of the Assembly. The Minister is the highest executive authority within his own sphere, he is the hierarchical chief of the service. Collectively responsible, with other members of the Council, for the general policy of the State, he is personally responsible for matters appertaining to his own Ministry.

The Ministries have at their head a Minister, an Under Secretary of State, a Director-General and a group of inspectors and of consultative technicians.

C *The Council of State*—The Council of State is no new thing in Turkey, it was created in 1850, though it was then called by a different name (*Maclisi Valayi Alkami Adliye*) it had the same consultative and juridical powers. In 1868 the true Council of State was established. The Constitution of 1876 suppressed the powers of the Council in respect of matters relating to legal disputes. In 1922, when the national Government was set up, the Council of State, like all other institutions of the old régime, ceased to exist, but was restored in 1925. The law was amended in 1931, and a final law concerning the Council of State was promulgated in 1938.

According to this law the Council of State is affiliated to the Presidency of the

Council It has two functions, consultative and juridical, this double function corresponds to a double organization, administrative and legal

The Council of State is composed of five sections, of which three are administrative and two are legal It is composed of a President, five departmental chairmen and twenty five members Each department has a chairman and four members

With the double function of a consultative organism and of administrative judge, the Council of State, whose powers are very wide, has gained a considerable ascendancy over the administration, which arises from its position as the regulator of the administrative life The regular publication of its decisions, since September, 1937, already permits the systematization of the guiding principles of its jurisprudence The judicial philosophy of the Turkish administration of the new régime, arising out of the collaboration of legislator, administrator, judge, and doctrine, is developing in a broad spirit of discipline and equity (Charles Crozat, *Laws of the Council of State of the Republic of Turkey*)

D *The Exchequer*—By Article 100 of the Constitution the Treasury is affiliated to the Grand National Assembly It is responsible for the audit of all State receipts and expenses of the State, for the control, utilization and management of all State funds.

The Treasury dates from the Constitution of 1876 It was remodelled in 1918 and re-established in 1923 The present organization, based upon the law of 1934, comprises a First President, a number of sections, a First Secretary, a Commissioner, controllers, and a Plenary Assembly

E *Departmental Organization*—Centralization presupposes the existence in the country of administrative branches of the central power While respecting the position of the decentralized communal administrations, the country is divided into a number of sections, provinces (Vilayet), sub-provinces (Kaza) and districts (Nahiye)

(a) *Provinces*—The most recent law on the provincial organization was passed in 1929 According to this law the province is an administrative unit, forming part of the central administration, but at the same time it is a decentralized local government, with its own corporate entity From this fact it comes about that it is governed partly by the law of 1929 and partly by the law of 1913, which is still in force

We may note from the point of view of centralization three different systems in the provinces

(i) *The Vals (Prefect)*—The Vali is not merely a simple official of the Ministry of the Interior, he is the administrative chief of the province for which he is responsible He has two distinct functions he is the executive officer of the central Government and applies and carries out its executive decisions, and secondly he represents the executive power of the Government, in which capacity he can take executive resolutions and exercise the prerogatives of public power

(ii) *The Heads of the Different Sections and their Offices*—Following upon the application of the principle of centralization, each Ministry has under it in each province a body of officials who have specialized in matters which concern the Ministry in question These officials look after the affairs which concern their own Ministry Their head is the Vali and they are appointed by their own Ministry

(iii) *The Council of the Prefecture*—The Prefect is the chairman of this body, which is composed of the heads of the various sections Its powers are juridical, administrative and consultative Its juridical powers are confined to a certain number of repeal and annulment causes

(b) *The Sub-Province (Kaza)*—This is an administrative district which has no independent corporate existence It is simply a branch of the central organization, and its highest official is the sub-prefect (Kaynakam) There are, in these sub-provinces, three main administrative channels

(i) *The Sub-Prefect*—The position is like that of the prefect, but his powers are more limited, his main duty is to carry out the orders of the prefect

(ii) *The Assistant Chiefs of Sections*—Under the direction of the sub-prefect, their position is similar to that of the section heads of the province

(iii) *The Council of the Sub-Province*—Under the chairmanship of the sub-prefect, this is composed of the section heads, and its duties and powers are similar to those of the Council of the Prefecture

(c) *The District (Nahiye)*—This is the smallest sub-division of the central organization, it does not exist independently, nor is it a corporate entity The highest official

is the Director of the District (Nahiye muduru), whose duties are the publication and execution of laws and regulations. He is entirely dependent on the "Kaimakam," from whom he receives his instructions. Other district officials include the district secretary, the chief of police, State doctor, and survey and financial officers.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS AND COMMUNES

The application of the principle of decentralization appears in the local administrations, which have a corporate existence. These local administrations can be divided into two categories:

- (i) The special administration of the province (second part of the Law of 1913)
- (ii) Communal administration, which is again sub-divided according to geographical situation and population into

- (a) Municipalities (Law of 1930).
- (b) Villages (Law of 1934)

I *The Special Administration of the Province*—The Vilayet has two separate existences in the administrative organization of Turkey. First, it is the largest branch of the central organization in accordance with the Law of 1919. Secondly, it is, as already explained, a corporate unit by the law of 1913.

This local administration, decentralized and a separate corporate unit, possesses both movable and immovable property and is charged with certain duties laid upon it by the said Law, within the provincial boundaries. These duties are the following: Public works (making of roads, draining of marshes and irrigation works), agriculture (setting up of model farms, stud farms, and forest nurseries, building of depots, the opening of agricultural exhibitions), health and public assistance (maintenance of the State hospitals, measures against infectious diseases, unemployment relief, assistance to poor or orphaned children), education (especially primary schooling).

In conformity with its decentralized character, the province has three controlling officers or bodies:

(a) *The Prefect (Vali)* is the executive officer of the province. He is on the one hand the agent of the central administration, the executive officer of the central Government and the representative of the State, on the other, the executive agent of the local decentralized organization and the representative of the corporate unit of the province.

(b) *The General Council of the Province* is composed of members elected by popular vote, the sub-provinces (Kaza) are the electoral units. The General Council so formed embodies in itself the powers conferred upon the province in its corporate capacity. But these powers are strictly administrative and neither legislative nor juridical, it cannot discuss political questions or offer political opinions, it makes executive decisions and controls the prefect and the Provincial Commission.

(c) The Provincial Commission is composed of persons elected for one year from among the members of the General Council. The prefect is its President. The Commission takes the place of the General Council when the latter is not sitting, its duties are of a consultative and administrative order.

II *Communal Administration*—The Communes, as has been pointed out, are divided into two categories, determined by geography and population—municipalities and villages. By the Law of 1930 the municipality (Belediye) is a corporation whose duty it is to regulate and to secure the communal and civic needs of the town, in the sphere of local government. Municipal organization is obligatory (a) in the chief towns in the Vilayet and (b) in the Kaza in places where the population exceeds 2,000.

The administrative channels of the municipality are (1) The Mayor. He is elected by secret ballot for four years by the municipal Council from among its members or other citizens who are eligible. The election of the Mayor in the Vilayets must be approved by the President of the Republic on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior, in other places by the decree of the prefect. The Law of 1930 excepts the Mayor of Istanbul, where the prefect is also the Mayor. The Mayor is the executive officer of the Municipality with subordinate officers under him.

The Municipal Council is composed of members elected directly by the citizens of both sexes of the Municipality. The minimum number of the Municipal Council is

twelve. The Council holds both ordinary and extraordinary sessions. Its decisions are purely administrative, but it has also the power to pass resolutions of a consultative character. The Municipal Council is controlled by the State, it is bound to send a summary of its decisions to the highest civil official of the locality.

The Municipal Commission has two kinds of members those elected for one year from among the members of the Municipal Council, and officials and heads of various services appointed by the central Government. It meets under the chairmanship of the Mayor, and its members are responsible to the General Council. Its duties are financial (budget), regulatory (municipal resolutions), administrative (tenders, charges, expropriations). The decisions of the Commission must be submitted to the highest civil authority in the locality.

The village is the smallest unit of decentralization which enjoys a corporate existence, it is a miniature commune. It is concerned with hygiene, local improvements, and public order. It is administered by the Village Head (Muhtar), who represents both the village and the central Government. He is elected for four years by the electoral council of the village.

The Electoral Council is composed of Turkish citizens who were born in the village or have lived there for six months. They must be registered inhabitants, be over eighteen years old, and must not be outlaws nor have committed any crime involving a sentence of imprisonment. The election of the members of the Council of the Elders and that of the Muhtar is carried out directly by the Electoral Council. These elections take place every four years in February.

The Council of Elders is composed of villagers elected by the Electoral Council, it is the executive body which has charge of village affairs. The number of the Council must be not less than eight. Its duties are administrative, but it has certain minor legal powers.

Although the decisions of the Muhtar and the Council of Elders are in a sense final, the sub-prefect can refer them back to the village, for the village administration as well as the decentralized local administration is subject to his administrative supervision.

INTER-COMMUNAL UNIONS

The decentralized administrations such as municipalities and villages, as well as those which are special to departments, are allowed to form unions among themselves. Article 133 of the Municipal Law speaks of the union between the administration of the department and that of the municipalities and the villages in order to safeguard public services. These unions are public institutions authorized by statute. They are corporate units with their own executive bodies, the President, the Council of the Union, and the Commission of the Union, which has four members.

REGIONS UNDER PERMANENT INSPECTORATES

To close this study of the administrative organization of the Turkish Republic, we must glance at one last body called the Organization of General Inspectorates. In order to regulate more completely the services concerning certain departments, a law was passed in 1927 under the title of the 'Law on the Organization of General Inspectorates' (Umumi Mufetüslük Teşkilatı).

In 1927 the first Inspectorate-General was established, with headquarters at Diarbekr in the East, the second in 1934 with headquarters at Edirne in Thrace, the third in 1935 at Erzerum in the East, and the fourth at Tunçeli in the East in 1936.

After this explanation it will be seen that the administrative organization of the Republic of Turkey is based on both centralized and on decentralized ideas harmoniously blended under the general supervision of modern public law.

The provinces, the machinery of which has been described, are 63 in number, the sub-provinces 383, and the districts 910. There are more than 44,000 villages.

Turkey of today possesses little territory in Europe, but all Asia Minor. Exclusive of lakes or marshes, the extent is 767,943 square kilometres, according to the census of 1940 the population numbers 17,830,185. It is most dense on the seaboards. The capital is Ankara, with 534,025 inhabitants. The most thickly populated provinces are İstanbul (883,599), İzmir (596,850) and Konya (569,684).

(Translated)

THE FOURTH CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By JOHN COATMAN, C.I.E.

This latest civil disobedience movement has not quite died out, and, of course, it is not possible to say that there will be no more serious incidents before it finally expires. But anybody familiar with the previous civil disobedience movements from 1920 onwards will see at once the enormous difference between them and this. Each of the previous movements not only affected the whole country, but affected practically every social class and every interest, to a greater or lesser degree. In a word, they were general and well sustained attempts at complete civil disobedience. But the present trouble has not got these marks. It is not a general movement, it does not affect all classes and interests—indeed, it does not affect even the whole of the Congress Party. The riots in Bombay and elsewhere, the murders of policemen, the firing on crowds in some places, and the student demonstrations, when splashed in newspaper headlines, certainly give a superficial aspect of revolt to the movement, and there is no denying that these things are serious. All disturbances in war-time are serious. Nevertheless, looking below the surface of events, what has happened since the meeting of the Working Party of Congress in Bombay on August 7 is the clearest proof possible of the failure of this civil disobedience movement to evoke a nation wide response. Throughout the weeks since then the Government, the industrialists, and the workers of India have proceeded with their massive preparations for war. The intake of recruits for the fighting services has gone on smoothly. In fact, all that is serious and responsible in India has ignored the demonstrations of certain city mobs and a number of misguided students.

It is quite clear that this latest attempt at civil disobedience was practically a one man show. The stand taken by Mr Rajagopalachari in itself pointed to serious dissensions within the Congress Party, and the fact that, even in the only partly representative Working Committee at Bombay, thirteen members had the courage to vote openly against Mr Gandhi is clear enough proof of his growing isolation. Even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cannot have acted from inner conviction in this matter. All his conduct and speeches between his release from prison last December and his final plunge with Mr Gandhi show that he knows that the paramount duty of all Indians today is to help form a solid front against the invader. What finally impelled him to join Mr Gandhi in his utterly unrealistic action we cannot say, but it is quite certain that this time his imprisonment will be regarded by many Congressmen, not as political martyrdom, but as a justifiable precaution by the Government against further trouble.

Of course, the origins of this fourth civil disobedience movement go back far beyond the Cripps Mission. They run direct and unbroken to the Congress Party's action soon after the declaration of war, when the Working Committee protested against India's being declared a belligerent, and demanded the right of the Indian people to frame their own Constitution through a constituent assembly. According to all precedent, the Viceroy's answer to this demand ought to have precipitated a civil disobedience movement there and then, but the tide of feeling in India against Nazism and Fascism was running very strongly. In the very manifesto which made the demands mentioned above, the Working Committee of the Congress Party had to denounce Nazism and Fascism. The martial races of India and the Princes were rallying again to the old call to arms, and it was clear that the civil disobedience movement would have no chance of success. Moreover, the most important of the sources from which the Congress Party had derived most of its financial support in the past would certainly give no help now to any movement designed to check the war effort. It will be remembered that Mr Gandhi made some very tentative efforts to get civil disobedience going. He was prepared to let selected volunteers offer civil disobedience at their own responsibility and for themselves as individuals, but even

this came to nothing much. The plain fact was that the political and spiritual conditions, not to speak of the material conditions, for civil disobedience were lacking in India after the outbreak of war.

These considerations are strongly reinforced by an examination of the progress of domestic politics in India between April, 1937—when the Government of India Act, 1935, came into operation—and the present time. It will be remembered that the Congress Party, after winning the elections in eight out of the eleven Provinces of British India, refused at first to accept office unless certain of the safeguards were abrogated. The effect of this attitude on Muslims and other minorities was marked, because, of course, the existence of the safeguards is of obvious importance to the minorities. Therefore, when the Congress Party did in the end decide to accept office in the eight Provinces where it had a majority, it started with a certain handicap through this new suspicion engendered in the minds of the minorities, in addition to the ancient and deep-seated differences between them and the majority community.

Now there is no doubt that practically everywhere the Congress Ministers set out to administer their departments honestly and equitably, and many of them were doing very good work. Nevertheless, in the two years, between their taking office in 1937 and the outbreak of war, minority opposition, and particularly Muslim opposition, to the Congress Ministers grew steadily. In one or two Provinces where the Muhammadans are in a decided minority, notably the Central Provinces, Muslim opposition to the Government became very active indeed, and there and elsewhere the signs of an imminent outbreak of Hindu Muslim rioting were noticeable. Moreover, Muslim policy itself was becoming more precisely defined by the leaders of the community. The doctrine of Pakistan and also the thesis which, of course, is the root of the Pakistan policy—namely, that Muslims would not accept any system of government for India which was based on the central democratic doctrine of majority rule—became the central planks of the Muslim political platform. This is to say that, despite the undoubtedly good-will of the majority of the Congress Ministers in the Provinces, and despite their achievements in a number of directions, there are solid reasons for believing that, war or no war, the attitude of the minorities, and of the Muslims in particular, would sooner or later have made the working of the 1935 Act in the Provinces so difficult that an examination of possible alternatives to the system set up by it might have been forced on the Government.

This conclusion emerges much more clearly when we consider that all important aspect of Indian domestic politics which concerns relations between the Indian States and British India. For it is hardly to be denied that by September, 1939, negotiations for the Federation of all India had come practically to a breakdown. There was, in fact, no prospect of an early inauguration of the Federation of all India, and, that being so, the 1935 Act was doomed to be left uncompleted. For the two halves of the Act—the one relating to British India and the other to the Federation of all India—were not conceived in complete isolation from each other. The one depended on the other, and the Act visualized and comprised a whole system for India, which could function only as a whole. And, moreover, it is clear enough that the attitude of the Princes towards the Federation was governed very largely, perhaps decisively, by what happened in British India after the inauguration of the 1935 Act.

They saw the Congress Party sweep the board in all but three Provinces, and the Congress Party have as one of the main planks in their platform changes in the constitutions of the States and in the position and powers of the Princes that none of the latter will ever accept. Looking at British India, therefore, after the 1937 elections, the Princes saw very little that was calculated to encourage them to throw in their lot with, and entrust their fortunes, even to the somewhat limited degree visualized by the Federal Scheme, to a country and political system dominated by their bitter foes. The agitation, openly encouraged by the Congress Party, against the Ruler of one of the States of Western India seemed to many of the Princes to cast the shadow of things to come, and so the state of affairs was reached in the negotiations between the Princes and the Viceroy to which reference has already been made.

It will be seen, therefore, that when the Working Committee of the Congress Party made its demands in September, 1939, it was throwing more highly inflammable material on to a fire that was already beginning to burn quite briskly. The reaction

of the minorities and the Princes to the Congress demands was instant, it was a strengthening of their determination to resist the Congress Party's pretensions, and as Lord Linlithgow made his successive attempts to enlarge the basis of the Government of India, and to bring into its counsels representatives of all important sections of political opinion, including the Congress Party, the fundamental differences between Mr Gandhi and his followers and their opponents became steadily more apparent.

The Congress Party, from start to finish, has refused to compromise on its demands for a fully independent national Government of India, a Government which, as repeated pronouncements by Congress Party leaders have shown, would be controlled by them. This is the chief rock on which the attempts of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India to broaden the basis of the latter have split, for the opponents of the Congress Party are now as extreme and uncompromising as the Congress Party itself. The reasons for the failure of the Cripps Mission to India are a perfect commentary on the developments which have been sketched above. The Congress Party, the Hindu Mahasabha, Muslims, Sikhs, all rejected the offer, but all for different, and indeed opposite, reasons. The Congress Party because it did not comply with their demands for a fully independent national Government at once, the Muslims because it did not give them Pakistan, the Mahasabha because they thought it would give the Muslims Pakistan, and the Sikhs because they are a separate historic community and are not content to be a mere minority in the Punjab—as they would have been had the suggestion contained in the Cripps offer for the "opting out" of Provinces from the proposed union of all India been accepted.

As soon as the war began it became increasingly clear that influential sections of the Congress Party itself were becoming more and more critical of Mr Gandhi's policy and leadership. The rejection of his doctrine of non-resistance, for example, and the failure of his earlier attempts to get a modified system of civil disobedience going, and the opposition of so many of the most influential members of the Congress Party to his latest move, are all examples of this.

In a word, Mr Gandhi's fourth civil disobedience movement is what the Secretary of State, broadcasting early in August, described it—namely, "An attempt to recover lost prestige." It is an ill judged and unwarranted attempt to plunge India into a turmoil and to achieve an object which, as I have tried to show, would evoke the instant and active resentment of some of the most powerful communities and interests in India. It is no wonder, therefore, that the movement has led hitherto to nothing more than sporadic acts of rioting and hooliganism. No single responsible or respectable section of Indian opinion has backed the movement, and it may yet have the effect, unforeseen by those who initiated it, of evoking strong patriotic counter action which, when the enemy aggressor has been disposed of, may work fruitfully in the field of Indian unity. But there is one tremendous obstacle in the way of such a happy outcome, and that is the recent resolution of the All India Muslim League. By this resolution the League is committed to the Pakistan solution. If it adheres uncompromisingly to this declaration of policy, then undoubtedly a period of very grave tension lies ahead of India. Mr Gandhi's civil disobedience movement, if it received any support, would bring Hindu Muslim antagonism to the point of an open and almost immediate break. For this reason, added to the many others, all patriotic and far-seeing Indians will continue to oppose Mr Gandhi. Only a long period of internal tranquillity and joint work by all communities and interests for the common cause of India will make it possible for the Pakistan policy to be so modified as to confer adequate safeguards on Muslim interests whilst guaranteeing the unity of all India. It is as well that people should know that this is one of the immense issues at stake.

FOR FREEDOM AND PROGRESS
INDIAN STATES AND THE WAR EFFORT

(From a Special Correspondent)

As the sequel to a conference held in the early part of this year to review India's position *vis-à-vis* the war in the Far East, certain very prominent Muslim and Hindu non-official spokesmen of Hyderabad city unanimously resolved to set aside all political differences and to join hands with the Government in the organization of air-raid precautions and civil defence for the protection of life and property from the growing threat of external aggression "At such a juncture," the joint signatories affirmed, "we realize that it is imperative that we should set aside all our political differences and make it our primary duty to protect the life, property and honour of the Ruler and his family and of the people of the State" After submitting a series of practical and well-reasoned recommendations concerning the organization of A R P and civil defence, which they emphasized should not be placed on a communal basis, they added "We trust that the public will whole-heartedly co-operate with the Government in giving effect to the above proposals and that, irrespective of caste and creed, they will join the Civic Guards and in giving effect to all protective measures that will be decided upon"

Welcoming this timely and statesmanlike declaration, H.E.H the Nizam's Government said

"It desires to congratulate the initiators and participants of that statement on taking a realistic view of the situation to cement a bond of unity between the two major communities which is in the best traditions of Hyderabad. His Exalted Highness's Government proposes to take advantage of the request made in the joint statement by associating the signatories and other public men more and more closely with the A R P and civil defence measures, and will shortly effect such collaboration in an organic form. His Exalted Highness's Government hopes that this expression of identity of interests between the communities *inter se* and between them and Government will continue to characterize public efforts even in other directions of equal national importance"

It is hardly necessary to elaborate the view that, if the leaders of the Hindu and Muslim communities in British India had displayed the same fruitful combination of vision and realism, the happiness and safety of the great population whose interests they profess to represent would be more assured than they are today. The disunity promoted by the Congress campaign, as all cool and competent observers foresaw, has been as deleterious to communal comradeship, and therefore to India's political progress, as it has been to the completion and perfection of her defence programme and therefore to her protection from the marauding hordes of Japanese imperialism.

It is especially to the younger generation that India today must look for security and political progress, for, as Sir C P Ramasami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, pointed out so aptly and opportunely in his convocation address to the Osmania University

"With the enemy almost knocking at our doors and with ruthless aggression manifested all about us, he is blind who does not realize that new and unprecedentedly grave problems confront India's youth. The need has arisen and is peremptory for the evolution of a truly national spirit, the necessity is also inescapable, in addition to the regular armed forces of the Crown and of the Rulers, of a citizen army, constituting not an uneducated and undisciplined rabble, but close-knit groups of patriotic young men who, by physical fitness, by scientific training, and by a sense of solidarity, will play their part in repelling aggression, physical and psychological, and help to bring about (God grant that it will be soon) a new era of peace and comradeship."

Announcing in the Hyderabad Legislative Council that Government had established, and made financial provision for, an organization to put into immediate effect A R P and civil defence measures, Nawab Saheb of Chhatari, President of Council, urged the population to act with calm courage and resolve, adding

"This is a kind of danger—I mean danger from the air—which has never before in the course of history threatened this land of ours, our very inexperience may increase the dread of it, but let us take a lesson from those brave men and women of the British Isles who have suffered ravages from ruthless air attacks so intrepidly and met them so bravely, let us not forget the men and women of Russia and China who have suffered even worse from brutal attacks on land, and have seen their cities and towns turned into battlefields, and faced those ordeals with unbroken resolution and unshaken faith. The Government and people of this State cannot, at this grave hour, afford to take any risk. For situated as we are in the very centre of India, we have a great duty to perform, a duty to our Sovereign, to our own people, to the people of India. I mean the duty of maintaining the peace and tranquillity of the Deccan."

If, as Government state, the present communal co-operation in face of a common danger is in the best tradition of Hyderabad, equally praiseworthy and inspiring is the ready co-operation of the women of the State in the Princess of Berar's Civil Defence Corps, inaugurated at a representative meeting held last April, to which Government have promised every possible assistance. This new organization, as Her Highness intimated in her inaugural address, will co-operate closely with the State civil defence organization and work under its general guidance. In an eloquent appeal Her Highness declared "We have so often reiterated resolutions on good citizenship and publicly voiced our claim to equal rights with men. Here is the crucial test of our inner strength and of our competence.

As women, we must form a united front and co-ordinate all civil defence activities under a single banner. I ask you to join the corps, and can offer nothing but work, and strenuous work. I shall expect of every single member an unswerving loyalty to the State, rigid adherence to the discipline of the corps, and absolute preparedness to carry out its work with courage and endurance under any conditions and in all circumstances." Of good augury for their resolution in confronting the sterner ordeals which may lie ahead are the impressive activities of the Hyderabad Women's War Work organization, which has been instrumental in arranging for the preparation and the regular despatch, month after month, of hospital necessities and comforts for troops on active service.

The latest reports show, indeed, that Hyderabad's war effort is as practical, comprehensive and continuous as could be desired. The training of Air Force personnel and of war technicians, the manufacture of military

materials, the collection of scrap metal, A R P and ambulance work, and the release of rolling stock typify, but by no means exhaust, the activities in which the Government and people of the State are engaged.

To the limits of their resources, indeed, all the Indian States continue to pour men, money and material into the war effort. Their immediate financial contributions to the end of April amounted to £2,328,000, and annual recurring donations stood at £275,000. The Indian Princes, as the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes observed recently, are in fact ready to face and fight the difficulties ahead with all their resources for their King-Emperor, for the defence of their Motherland, and for the world causes at stake. Every State, big and small, has continued its war effort in accordance with its best traditions. In addition to contributions to war funds and Defence Loans, the States are producing large quantities of war materials. Many new factories have been established to meet special requirements. State forces have acquitted themselves very creditably in the field. At its last meeting the Chamber of Princes reaffirmed "the firm determination of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India to continue to render every possible assistance to His Imperial Majesty and his Government for the successful prosecution of the war and for the defence of their Motherland until final victory is achieved and the high principles of justice and sacredness of treaties and covenants are vindicated". In view of Congress plans and activities, designed to induce the British Government to repudiate or whittle away its own treaties and covenants with the Indian States, it may be opportune to recall that at the same gathering of the Chamber its Chancellor, who has since joined the War Cabinet, asserted that the India of the future on which

we have set our gaze and in which patriotic Indians of different classes, parties and interests can cheerfully offer their best in the service of the Motherland and its defence, must inspire in them a sense of security, self respect and pride, a spirit of common citizenship and of comradeship in arms, essential as much for defeating the enemy today as for the working of any stable Constitution in the future. For the achievement of this ideal, if it be necessary, theories of constitutional purism must yield to the peculiar needs of the human element in India and to the exigency of the grave situation that faces us."

As an example of the determination of the States to pursue their schemes of industrial and social welfare as far as practicable even during the war period, it is significant that large contracts have been placed in this country by the Mysore Government for equipment for a further extension of the hydro-electric power which is so marked a feature of the progress of "the model State". The project, known as the Jog Falls scheme, is for the utilization of the waters of the Sharavati River, which leaves the Mysore plateau at the Jog Falls, with a vertical drop of about 830 feet, and then passes through a narrow gorge to the Arabian Sea. The stream flow of the river varies from about four cusecs in the hot weather to 160,000 cusecs in the monsoon season.

The storage reservoir is being constructed about thirteen miles upstream from the falls. The water from the reservoir will be recovered from the river by a barrage at Karagal, about ten miles downstream from the dam. The generating station is being built on the left bank of the river about a

mile from the falls. The ultimate installed capacity will be 120,000 kw, and the work now authorized includes the installation of two penstocks and four 12,000-kw generating sets.

The turbines, of the impulse type, have been ordered from Messrs Boving and Co, Ltd, and the alternators from the British Thomson-Houston Company, Ltd, who also supply the outdoor switchgear and step-up transformers. The contracts placed in this country amount to nearly £250,000 sterling, with much more to come, as the total cost of the scheme will be several millions sterling.

RECENT CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN IRAN

By A H K HAMZAVI

HISTORY books and even official records are apt to reflect the sympathies and antipathies of the chronicler, or the political tendencies of the ruling classes of a nation during a certain period. But the arts, philosophy and cultural achievements of a people surely reveal, more than anything else, their national characteristics, mental and physical outlooks, aspirations and weaknesses. In fact, they are the key note to hearts and souls of nations.

The history of Iran from the early days of Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenid Dynasty in 558 B.C., and in the days prior to that, is rich with superb artistic and cultural attainments.

The purpose of this article is not to attempt to portray even a panoramic sketch of the wealth of exquisite and delicate fantasy of Iranian art during the ages, an art which worshipped the goddess of peace, tranquillity, gentleness, kindness, beauty and love, in other words, the essence of creation of man.

Nevertheless, perhaps a cursory glance at the evolutionary stages through which Iranian culture has moved during the ages would provide us with the necessary background.

Generally speaking, Iranian art, dating from the known history of the Persian Empire, has been supreme in three distinct periods.

1. The Achæmenid period (558-330 B.C.), when the Empire of Iran was one of the main centres of world civilization and culture. During the reign of the Achæmenid kings the Empire of Iran prospered, and the remains of Persepolis are but a few of the magnificent cultural achievements of that time.

2. The Sassanian era (A.D. 226-652), known as the period of Iranian religious and cultural renaissance. The Sassanian epoch has had appreciable influence on Iranian as well as Western art. The development of the silk industry during this period has left an immense impression, and the silk tissues of the Sassanian period are amongst the finest of all times. Sassanian metal work as well as rock-cut sculptures, the most notable of which are Taghe Bostan and Naghshe Rostam, are immortal symbols of the artistic glories of that age.

3. The Safavi era (1500-1722), when Iranian art and culture, particularly architecture and miniature painting, was at its peak.

From the eighteenth century, however, very little in the way of important cultural and artistic achievements can be traced, with the exception of certain isolated cases of individual brilliance in the artistic and literary world, which have been of little international value. In fact, owing to the country becoming a buffer between two powerful neighbouring nations, and, what is still more important, being so chaotically administered by effete rulers, culture has been somewhat ignored whilst various branches of art, literature and philosophy have received little attention, and national monuments and historic buildings have suffered from sheer negligence and lack of upkeep.

Since the beginning of the present century, however, improvements have been made in the way of preservation of old and historical monuments and the awakening of the people to the importance of becoming acquainted with former traditions and the development of cultural life. In the last twenty years progress has gained considerable momentum, and great strides have been taken in stamping out illiteracy, which has been the core of many an evil and misery of past and present-day Iran—cultural as well as political and social.

Many hundreds of young Iranians have, during the last fifteen years, come over to the West and studied various technical and literary subjects in the centres of learning in England, France, U.S.A., Switzerland, Belgium, Germany and other European countries. In England alone hundreds of these chosen young men have studied at Oxford, Cambridge, London and other provincial Universities, where they acquired high qualifications. I had the privilege of supervising their studies for a number of years in this country. These young men, who have been imbued with the learning, ideas and perspective of the various Western countries, have now returned to Iran as doctors, surgeons, engineers, economists, financiers, chartered accountants, dramatists, etc. Their outlook on life has been undoubtedly impressed and moulded to some extent by the mode of life and teachings they have had. They are the pioneers and partisans of the adoption in Iran of the particular brand of culture they have acquired. Of course, a good many of them are up against the old school, who have not seen or appreciated sufficiently the cultural side of the West, and to whom Western culture, art and literature are anathema.

Happily, the Iranian authorities, who have all along taken an enlightened view, have struck a happy medium and have striven to fuse these schools of thought harmoniously.

In 1924 laws were passed by the Iranian Parliament prohibiting the export, shipment or removal from Iran of old and antique manuscripts, paintings, tiles, metals, sculptures, coins, embroideries, textiles, mosaics, ceramics, bas-reliefs and other historical and national symbols of former cultural activities of the country, thus stopping at the source the gradual but effective exodus of all kinds of most valuable and historic relics of Iran, a practice which had been carried on for a number of years by unscrupulous traders, who depleted the country of many of its national possessions. Until then Iran was a paradise for the foreign as well as the pecuniary minded Iranian excavator. All they had to do was merely to choose their spot and dig. This most damaging state of affairs was also regularized in 1924, and necessary laws promulgated, so that since that date no excavations can be carried out in any part of the country without the sanction of the Department of Antiquities of the Iranian Government.

In 1925 a society called 'Anjomane Athare Melli,' or the "Society of National Monuments and Antiquities," was established in Tehran for the preservation of all national, historical and artistic glories of past Iran. This Society has done a good deal of useful work in repairing old mosques, historical buildings and remains. Effective steps for preserving these important symbols of Iranian art have been taken, but, needless to say, a great deal remains to be done. The authorities are fortunately fully alive to this, and it is to be hoped that further permanent steps will be taken.

In 1935 an institute for 'preserving and developing the Persian language,' called "Farhangestan Iran," was organized, the main purpose of which was to adopt correct Persian words for modern technical expressions which had gradually but effectively crept into the Persian language. An over-zealous section of the young generation, taking advantage of the establishment of this institute, have pressed home their fervent puritan ideas in replacing many Arabic words, which have been in use for hundreds of years, with old Persian words, a controversial issue which has not found much favour amongst the majority of Iranians.

In 1937 the Iranian authorities caused research to be made for the collation of accurate information on folk lore, origins and modes of life of the various tribes, sects and peoples who have lived in Iran during the past, and who comprise the present population of Iran. An institute called "The Institute of Anthropology" was formed for this purpose. The results of the labours and researches of this Institute have been placed at the disposal of the public, and particularly circulated amongst the students.

and young men of Iran. A museum was also established by the Institute so that the relics and other evidence collected might be exhibited to the public and preserved.

The authorities, encouraged by the response of the people, in particular the youth of the country, in acquiring all possible knowledge about its past arts and culture, ventured into a more ambitious field and established an organization 'for the development and guidance of public opinion and fostering of national feelings.' Branches of this organization were formed all over the country, in fact, a series of conferences exploring this subject were included in the curriculum of all colleges and that of the University of Tehran.

EDUCATION

The first educational institute opened in Iran on modern Western lines was in 1850, when the College of 'Darol Fonoon,' or the "House of Sciences," was opened in Tehran by the Grand Chancellor Mirza Taghi Khan Amir Kabir, who spared no effort to introduce European educational methods in Iran. A number of British, Austrian, Polish, French and Italian instructors were brought over to Iran to teach various subjects such as the science of military warfare, engineering, medicine, surgery and chemistry. The college started with one hundred chosen pupils, mainly sons of the nobility. Every year sons of the nobility came from all over Iran to join this college. Later on the curriculum was extended, and three main languages—English, French and Russian—together with painting and music, were added to it. For the first twelve years the number of students at 'Darol-Fonoon' averaged 270.

A few years later the Government of Iran paid much more attention to the problem of education in the country, and in 1858 a Ministry of Science (Education) was formed. Many important results followed. In 1862 a special bureau of translation attached to the Court of the Shah was established for the purpose of translating important European books into the Persian language. In 1871 the first Persian almanack was published. In 1873 an important official library, called the 'Royal Library' and attached to the Court, was formed.

The first school for girls was established in 1896 in the village of Chalyas in Kerman.

In 1857 forty seven young men were sent to France for the study of various subjects.

In 1897 the first step for laying the foundation of the present educational system was laid when a "society for the establishment of national schools in Iran" was formed. This society later became "Anjomane Maaref," or the 'Education Council.' As a result of the deliberations and efforts of this Council, many free schools were opened in Iran.

In 1897 the National Library was formed.

In 1898 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established the College of Political Science in Tehran.

In 1899 an Agricultural College was formed.

The spread of education in Iran during the last few years has been astonishingly rapid. In 1936 the Iranian Government introduced adult education for males as well as females, 1,500 evening classes were opened in all parts of the country. Two main courses were started, one for illiterates and one for those who had some knowledge of reading and writing. This was followed by the establishment of evening classes throughout the country. Evening secondary schools were also established in this year in Tehran and other important provincial towns, so that the working classes could have the opportunity of pursuing their elementary studies.

A glance at the comparative figures of expansion and development of schools in Iran during the last twenty years will throw some light on the progress of education in the country during the recent years.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN IRAN

1923	612	1928	3,502	1933	4,664
1924	1,943	1929	3,300	1934	4,853
1925	2,336	1930	3,644	1935	5,339
1926	3,285	1931	3,643	1936	4,939
1927	3,177	1932	4,181	1937	8,036
				1938	8,381

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN IRAN ATTENDING SCHOOLS

1923	55,131	1929	153,929	1935	255,673
1924	96,367	1930	163,346	1936	258,275
1925	108,959	1931	181,608	1937	394,541
1926	132,694	1932	200,026	1938	457,236
1927	137,496	1933	216,026		
1928	150,811	1934	233,282		

NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN IRAN

1923	3,034	1929	8,397	1935	11,901
1924	5,469	1930	9,150	1936	11,543
1925	6,086	1931	9,494	1937	12,096
1926	7,501	1932	10,071	1938	13,078
1927	8,118	1933	10,410		
1928	8,465	1934	11,094		

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO COMPLETED ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

	Boys	Girls	Total
1923	887	309	1,196
1924	1,296	313	1,609
1925	1,496	380	1,876
1926	1,808	451	2,259
1927	2,333	649	2,982
1928	2,378	762	3,140
1929	2,667	1,029	3,996
1930	3,535	1,129	4,664
1931	4,249	1,384	5,633
1932	4,113	1,304	5,417
1933	4,806	1,730	6,536
1934	5,387	1,866	7,253
1935	6,631	2,253	8,884
1936	7,542	2,465	10,007
1937	10,442	3,367	13,809
1938	12,303	3,930	16,233

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO COMPLETED SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	Boys	Girls	Total
1923	37	—	37
1924	57	—	57
1925	77	—	77
1926	110	—	110
1927	139	—	139
1928	148	40	188
1929	139	66	205
1930	284	48	332
1931	279	95	374
1932	311	120	431
1933	371	235	606
1934	713	265	978
1935	537	211	748
1936	577	278	855
1937	762	356	1,118
1938	675	411	1,086

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO GRADUATED FROM COLLEGES

1923	15	1931	68
1924	28	1932	74
1925	61	1933	115
1926	51	1934	102
1927	64	1935	183
1928	77	1936	305
1929	43	1937	367
1930	34	1938	321

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION BUDGET

1925	7,731,380 rials	1932	26,750,370 rials
1926	11,011,003 "	1933	41,270,150 "
1927	14,113,418 "	1934	47,835,070 "
1928	16,350,237 "	1935	58,004,070 "
1929	18,483,755 "	1936	71,165,760 "
1930	18,983,750 "	1937	73,299,910 "
1931	23,609,960 "	1938	83,287,030 "

Average rate, 60 rials = £ (approximate)

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEHRAN

In May, 1934, the Iranian Parliament empowered the Ministry of Education to found a university in Tehran on the lines of modern universities in Western countries. No expense or effort has been spared to make the Tehran University a worthy centre of learning and culture and a deserving tribute to the enlightened Government who are now reaping the culminating fruits of years of labour in the cause of spreading education in Iran.

Amongst its various faculties is the faculty for the study of English language and English literature, which comprises a series of lectures on English literature from the early times up to 1640. The *Cambridge History of English Literature*, books by Matthew Arnold, Tennyson, Scott, Shakespeare, Byron, Wordsworth, Gibbon, Macaulay, Coleridge, Keats, Milton and Dickens, to mention only a few, are used as textbooks. Modern English writers such as Oscar Wilde, Shaw, H G Wells and others are widely read and all translated into Persian.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Iranian art and culture during the ages has been the power to resist the many invasions which have conquered Iran for a time, such as that of Alexander the Great, the Arabs, Chengiz Khan and Tamurlane, and to retain its national characteristics. Also to assimilate and improve any good ideas which foreign influence may have brought in the country.

With the advent of radio and aeroplanes, the gates of Iran have now been fully opened to the scientific, technical and practicable features of Western life and culture, with all its great benefactions and advantages, and possibly superficial drawbacks.

Can the present Iranian generation, charmed and almost dazzled by the magic of Western civilization and culture, emulate their forefathers in retaining and assimilating with its own valuable arts and traditions the best the West can offer? Time will tell.

UNITED AID TO CHINA FUND

BY THE RIGHT REV THE BISHOP OF HONG-KONG AND
SOUTH CHINA

NOTHING, I think, has surprised the British people more than their capacity to give for Russia. The United Aid to China Fund is having a similar, though naturally proportionately smaller, response. Nearly everybody in this country has some money they can give, and they want to give it. An appeal was launched on July 7, and its detailed work (such as approaches to firms and local committees in the towns) is only just getting under way. Nevertheless, the first £100,000 mark is already passed. The response to Lady Cripps' broadcast appeal has been quite remarkable. It now stands at about £37,000. We are told that if it had been a wet night and a Sunday it might easily have been £20,000 more.

Readers of the *ASiATIC REVIEW* already know a great deal about the work of the Chinese Red Cross, and must be familiar with conditions in Free China. There is also, very naturally, a general view that China's needs are for goods and materials, and that while these goods cannot enter except by air, it is not much use doing anything. In a sense the reverse is true as far as the present situation in Chinese relief is concerned. What is needed is to put the money in the hands of the leaders of voluntary relief organizations which they can use without the filling up of Government forms, and give play to charity in a land which has such a large proportion of evacuees.

This financial need has always been considerable, but has been made extremely urgent by the loss to China as well as to the United Nations of the Southern Pacific Islands, from the Philippine Islands across through Borneo, Malaya and Java to Burma. The Chinese residents in these countries have been contributing at the rate of probably more than £3,000,000 a year through Chungking for the maintenance of the National Relief Administration, the Chinese Red Cross, orphanages, schools, universities and industrial co-operatives. I am thinking of a Chinese friend of mine working at Talifu in our Union Theological College. He found an enormous educational and social need in the locality among the Min Chia tribes people. He managed to get down to Burma, where he had some relatives and friends. In a fortnight he raised Rs 5,000, which would enable him to carry on work for eighteen months. Unfortunately, this sum was partly in the form of promises which were to come with the new year settlements, and so more than half has been lost by the fall of Burma. This is only one example among many showing how the great stream of generous giving from Chinese overseas has been drying up.

I imagine many readers of this *Review* already serve in one way or another on committees which administer funds for those in need. They will know what a bitter disappointment it is when plans for others are thwarted by the loss of money that had been counted on, and what a relief and joy and encouragement it is to receive suddenly a gift, perhaps from another country, which enables them to carry on and develop the work that they had planned.

We have therefore at the moment an almost unique opportunity for making £1 do £2's work. The first £1's worth will be spent in buildings or transport, including possible air transport from India, or in extra rice, bonuses or in salaries for workers (doctors, nurses, teachers, etc.). The second £1's worth from every £1 gift will be in the form of encouragement that will come to many thousands of China's noblest citizens, whose goodwill to their country and to their fellow-men has been expressed in devoted service in relief work of various kinds.

It is because of this double value of every £1 given that we call the United Aid to China Fund the British people's gift to China. In this way we shall speak in no uncertain terms to the Chinese people of our goodwill towards them. The influence of the gift will be felt throughout the country. It will not get lost, as help through Lease-Lend and Government loans must do in large Treasury grants.

This is part of the moral and spiritual aid which Mr Churchill promised the Chinese people, and, as Madame Chiang Kai-shek herself has said, it will also be a

blessing upon us. It will bring home to us what a great ally we have in China, and what she has done and will do on our behalf. We also take courage and go forward.

Finally, a word about China's great achievement in relief administration. The word 'relief' is inadequate, it must be called reconstruction, though it is not reconstruction in the sense that we think of it in this country. Reconstruction in our sense is indeed going on in China. Where there has been terrible bombing, great new roads have already been put through. Chungking is already being organized as a subsidiary capital, the railway line from Haiphong in Indo-China through to Changsha only needs metals and rolling stock. The rapid development of roadways and road-mindedness in the interior will have changed the whole structure of China's industry. But the reconstruction that China means in relation to relief has rather to do with the rehabilitation of the refugee, the orphan and the disabled. Here are the four or five major tasks.

The National Health Administration has been enabled, because of the war, to develop a public health service through Free China, and has given quite a new framework to the whole story of modern medicine among the Chinese people. The Anti-Epidemic Bureaux which are being built in several places, the great increase in the local production of drugs, and the availability of men, who in the past have been in hospitals in the port cities, for health administration in the interior, are the main features in this change.

The National Relief Administration is, in a sense, nearer the ground, as it takes care of the feeding of those who are still unabsorbed. This organization has had some experience in tackling the refugee problem and in the giving of subsidies to enable people to get started again without becoming perpetual paupers. It has also prevented friction between Provinces by a very carefully arranged system of responsibility. No Province is responsible financially for refugees who come from another Province. This responsibility is carried out by the central administration. The National Relief Administration has also been extremely useful in taking prompt action after air raids. It has prevented the people from being broken by disaster and given them new hope and courage to make a fresh start.

The Orphanage organization is remarkable for the extraordinary numbers involved, and the fact that Madame Chiang Kai-shek has always sent out representatives into the battle areas or to towns after heavy bombing to seek out orphans and bring them back. She has not waited until they were brought to her. I do not know of any other orphanage institution which goes out into the highways and byways to find those in need. Orphanages are as a rule engaged to the full in dealing with applications which are made by those who have the knowledge or persistence necessary to apply to them.

Chinese Industrial Co-operatives are, as a story, pretty well known. But they have proved that it is more economical to give men and women, who are capable of profiting by it, money to start on their own in a co-operative method rather than to employ them as "hands" in a system of "refugee handicrafts". Chinese Industrial Co-operatives will probably prove as significant an educational movement as the modern universities of China have been in the last fifty years, provided one takes the word "education" to mean education for life and not just for examinations. The refugee universities and schools have probably suffered much more than their amazing achievement in continuing to exist at all would suggest. True scholarship needs leisure. The energy involved in teaching others is not so easily found when one is living in very trying conditions with a desperate family struggle to survive going on all the time. Moreover, China has lost many of her finest university leaders to Government service. They are not likely to return. This, perhaps, is a fair adjustment, for, on the whole, too many of her able returned students have gone into university work, and the Government service has had to suffer accordingly. On the other hand, there is no question that with the return of peace to China the younger members of the staffs will bring with them a different and wider outlook to university life, which may produce a much closer relationship between it and the life of the country than has been the case in the past.

It is to keep all these movements not only in being, or struggling to survive, but in full and active usefulness for China, that our appeal is made. We know that the gifts from British people will have a very real place in making the China of the peace to count, not only in the Far East, but also in the whole world settlement.

BRITISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERSIAN STUDIES

By ROM LANDAU

British Contributions to Persian Studies, by Arthur J Arberry, M.A., LITT.D., published for the British Council by Longmans Green and Co, 1942 Price 1s

"As we look back over the whole story it is possible to distinguish two particular features characteristic of Persian contributions of British scholars these are their devotion to history and poetry Their attachment to historical studies is readily comprehensible, for the British are celebrated for their love of the past, and it is only one step from loving the past of one's own people to honouring the traditions of another As for the second feature, this also is, after all, but natural, seeing that English literature is rich in lyric, and it is the Persian lyric that has so powerfully attracted the admiration of British readers, while the element of mysticism inseparably associated with Hafiz, Iraqi, Jami, even Omar, is paralleled in the writings of Donne, Blake, Wordsworth, Shelley"

The above sentences in Dr Arberry's book give a taste of his catholicity, and they also indicate that his excellent essay on Britons who have devoted themselves to bringing the Persian culture and language closer to the Western world has none of the dryness so often associated with books of this type But, then, Britain's Persian scholars, from Anthony Shirley to Edward Fitzgerald and E G Browne, have all something uncommon and even picturesque about them In tracing their work up to the present day, Dr Arberry's scholarly and illuminating digest performs a most useful function It is to be hoped that the book will induce British readers to take a greater interest in the important subject of our cultural relations with Oriental peoples Moreover, it ought to make them appreciate more keenly their great debt to British Orientalists

Though the author never departs from his immediate subject, it comes as a welcome surprise to find that at last an expert has shown the courage to put his finger on a sinister subject which has for so long overshadowed the work of British Orientalists and deprived them of much of the appreciation that is their due Speaking of the hospitality extended by our own authorities to German Orientalists, the author says

'It is to be regretted that with rare exceptions German interest in Iran has remained in the political field, and personalities such as Wassmuss and Grobba characterize far more truly than a Goethe or a Sprenger what lies behind the carefully advertised German enthusiasm for Oriental scholarship It makes sad reading to find a few pages later the following statement "Palmer" (the great Cambridge Arabist) "offered himself to the India Office for the appointment of librarian, the India Office preferred to patronize a German, Reinhold Rost'

Up to the present day German Governments have invariably been using German Orientalists for purely political aims, the chief of which was to upset the cultural and political relations between this country and Oriental peoples But like in most spheres of scholarship and science, German propaganda—by no means an invention of Dr Goebbels—has succeeded in hypnotizing the world into the belief that the Orientalism of all other nations was no match for that of their German colleagues By his restrained allusion, Dr Arberry has performed a useful service in helping to expose the pernicious doctrine of German superiority in this particular field Since on the whole British scholars are too timid, or merely too discouraged by past experience, to defend their own rights and to expose the true background of German "Orientalism," it is those who do not belong to their fraternity who must draw attention to this important subject.

Few German Orientalists of the present or the past could measure themselves with their British colleagues Yet while every achievement of German Orientalists would be broadcast widely, no one but a handful of specialists is acquainted with the far sounder work of our own Orientalists Any German pseudo-philosopher, such as a Spengler or a Keyserling, is hailed throughout Britain as an intellectual giant, yet

how many members of our "intelligentsia" have read the works of an Alexander or Whitehead? Whilst the names of Noldeke, Rosen, Frobenius or Wassmuss are known not merely to British scholars, how many educated Britons have ever heard of the late Sir George Grierson, who "discovered" the languages of India, of Brian Houghton Hodgson, Legge Rawlinson, R. A. Nicholson, or the author of the present book? If German Orientalists abided by the same canons of pure scholarship as do the British, French, American, or those of other Western nations, their efforts and their collaboration with which we are "blessed" even today would be welcome by everyone. But, like most German activities, their Orientalism is rarely devoid of political aims, and cannot be treated in the same manner as that of other civilized nations. German Orientalists in Britain are first and foremost Germans who work and teach as Germans. Unfortunately, with our often misguided sense of hospitality and charity, we have been more concerned with their well-being than with that of our own scholars. While many British Orientalists are unemployed or do fatiguing duties in the Services, for German Orientalists special lectureships are created. There should be no national frontier within the sphere of learning. As Dr Arberry has pointed out and as those who have studied the subject know, German learning is rarely devoid of sinister national motives. Hence the more reason that everyone interested in Britain's contribution to an important field of Orientalism should read this timely book.

It would be most welcome if Dr Arberry's study could be translated into Persian, thus showing our Persian friends how greatly British scholars have contributed to the understanding of Persian thought and culture.

EUROPE AND THE TURKS IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

BY THE HON J S RUNCIMAN

(Recently appointed to the newly created Chair of Byzantine Art and History at Istanbul University)

It is a common error in Western Europe to believe that the Turkish peoples first entered into European politics at the close of the eleventh century, when the Seljuk invasions of Anatolia and Syria led to the great movements that we call the Crusades. This attitude ignores the ramifications of the Turkish race, of which the Seljuks and Osmanlis belong only to one branch, the Uzes or Ghuzz.* The Uzes, it is true, did not force themselves on to the notice of Europe before the tenth century, but already before them the Turks had made their influence strongly felt across the whole land mass of the ancient world, from the Atlantic to the Yellow Sea. The court of Byzantium, the best informed centre of the early medieval world, was well aware of their presence and their potentialities, and recommended the study of Turcology to its diplomats. The Arabs and Persians to the south, and the Chinese to the East, were equally conscious of the question. Modern research,† with its linguistic and anthropological backing, has provided further evidence. We can now with some certitude identify the main Turkish peoples and show how tremendous has been their influence on world history down the ages.

I am not, here, concerned with the story of the Turks in Eastern Asia, important though it is. Here I intend to discuss their impact on early medieval Europe. It is not unreasonable to argue that it was the Turks who brought medieval Europe into being.

* The Uze branch of the Turks is linguistically to be distinguished by its tendency to use the "dj" sound (the "c" of modern Turkish orthography), where the other Turkish peoples use an initial "y". The Turcomans are also Uzes.

† The best modern summing-up of the question is to be found in R. Grousset's *L'Empire des Steppes* (Paris, 1939), which is a full and well-referenced account of Turco-Mongol history, particularly as regards the great tribal migrations.

Medieval Europe was the result of those tribal movements that we call the Barbarian Invasions, and the Barbarian Invasions, though they were probably inevitable in any case, were actually set in motion by the coming from the East of the Huns

The origin of the Huns long puzzled the world. Horrified contemporaries believed them to be the children of Scythian witches, who mated with the demons of the sands of the Steppes. Nowadays they were definitely identified with the Hsiung-nou, a Turkish people that had long played a prominent part in Far Eastern history. A branch of the Hsiung nou was even to found an empire in Northern China in the fourth century. But another chief branch of the tribe, after dominating Mongolia for many years, was driven westward at the close of the second century by the Mongol tribe of the Sien-pi. Its remnants probably joined up with the third branch of the tribe, which had been slowly moving westward since the beginning of the Christian era and gave it the impetus which brought it to the borders of Europe in the middle of the fourth century.*

The history of the Huns in Europe is too well known to need repetition. It was their first appearance there that drove the Visigoths in terror to seek protection within the Roman Empire, and so started off the train of circumstances that led to the breaking down of the Roman frontiers by the crowding and impatient German hordes. This indirect rôle of the Huns was more important in its results than their direct intervention into European affairs under Attila in the next century, which, though terrifying at the time, achieved little that lasted.

But two aspects of Hunnic history are worth considering. First, in Attila himself we find the arch-type of the conqueror from the Steppes. Attila was not an uncivilized man. The Byzantine diplomat Priscus describes him as being spotlessly clean in his personal appearance and simple in his tastes. He took the trouble to employ a Greek and a Latin secretary, he was friendly towards the literate members of his Gothic subject races. As an administrator he was capable and just. He had, moreover, a liking for legal justification in his diplomatic dealings. But he remained essentially a nomad, the leader of an unsettled pastoral tribe. This made it almost impossible for him to found a lasting kingdom in Europe. He did not understand agriculture. Like every true nomad, he despised it, just as even the great Gengis Khan wished to honour the rich millet fields of China by raising them to the status of pasture-land. Like every true nomad, city life was equally a thing that he could not appreciate. Its economy puzzled and repelled him. When he saw a city, his instinct was to destroy it, and, like the other great leaders from the Steppes, he was a meticulous and merciless destroyer. The great city of Aquileia never recovered from his ministrations. Finally, being a nomad, he was restless. He was not willing to settle down and merely organize his already vast empire. His restlessness led him on to his fruitless campaigns in Gaul and Italy, which wore out his people and left them prostrate when he died.

The second point to note is that the Byzantines, though themselves the most inter-racial of peoples, learnt in these years to work out a foreign policy along broad racial lines. Much as Byzantium disliked the Huns to turn their hostile attentions against its own cities and provinces, on the whole it was grateful for their presence. The great enemy of the empire was the German peoples. The existence of a strong non-Germanic power which was itself very willing to fight the Germans and which could provide mercenaries who could be relied upon not to sympathize with the Germans, was an advantage of which Byzantine statesmen were very sensible. For the next seven centuries it was an invariable practice of Byzantine foreign statecraft to call upon the Turkish peoples for aid against the most serious enemy close at hand—against Germans, Persians, Arabs or Slavs. At the same time it tried to play off the various Turkish peoples against each other. The system only broke down when the Turks themselves became the serious enemy, and pan Turkish loyalty proved too strong even for Byzantine gold to undermine.

* Certain orientalists—e.g., Poppe and Barthold—consider that the western Huns broke off entirely from the main stock about the year 35 B.C. They base their argument on linguistic evidence. See Poppe, *Asia Major*, and Barthold, art. "Turks" in *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

The elimination of the Huns was thus a serious blow to the empire. The Turkish tribes that succeeded them—Otgurs, Kutrigurs and Sabirs and proto-Bulgars—were none of them formidable enough seriously to trouble the empire nor to be of value as allies. Their day was to come later when they crystallized as the Bulgars.

Meanwhile Byzantium, in the late sixth century, was wooing another Turkish people, different from the Huns in their habits. This people was called by the Chinese the Tou Kie and by the Greeks the Tourkoi—thus was the first introduction into Europe of the name Turk. The Tou Kie* had built up in the middle of the sixth century a great Central Asiatic empire stretching from the borders of China to the Caspian. Though they remained pastoral and semi nomad, their organization envisaged a permanent settlement, and they did not show the same political restlessness that had characterized the Huns. They were not the first Turkish people to try to settle down, nor did they do so as effectively as the Tabghatch Turks,† who had ruled Northern China in the fifth and early sixth centuries, and whose rule had left behind such strong memories that Byzantine historians would call Northern China “Tav gast” after their name.‡ The Tou Kie empire was divided into two halves. The eastern half, comprising Mongolia, kept the primacy, but it was the western half, comprising the modern Turkestan, with which Byzantium was in contact. Byzantium was at this time seeking for allies against the Persians and also for a safe route for the silk caravans from China. For both purposes the Tou Kie were ideally placed, and themselves were willing to co-operate.

In 567 a Tou Kie embassy appeared at the Byzantine court. Its leader, a Sogdian called Maniakh, had already led an unsuccessful embassy to Persia. In Byzantium he achieved better results. A Byzantine Turkish alliance against the Persians was formed, and when Maniakh returned next year to his master he was accompanied by an imperial ambassador, Zemarchus of Cilicia. Zemarchus went as far as the summer capital of the Western Tou Kie, at the “White Mountain” on the slopes of the Pamirs. He was well received there by the Khan Istami (552-575), whom the Chinese called Che te mi and the Greeks Dizabul or Silzibul.§ Istami was the younger brother of the supreme Khagan, Mu han, the ruler of the Eastern Tou Kie. Zemarchus was immensely impressed by the luxury of the Turkish court.|| The palace, it is true, consisted only of tents, but they were hung with brocaded silks and were filled with works of art. The Khan himself received the embassy seated on a golden couch whose legs were four golden peacocks. Banquets were served on gold and silver plate. But what the ambassador admired most were some silver statuettes of animals, which, he said, the people of his own country might well envy. He noted that the Tou Kie made a point of leaving pieces of iron lying about in order to disguise their penury of that useful metal. He was much interested in the magical rites and ceremonies that took place at the court. From his account these were clearly Shamanistic. He also remarked that the Tou Kie did not drink wine, but only fermented milk.

The embassy was highly successful. A Persian embassy that followed on its heels was rudely dismissed by the Tou Kie. When war broke out between Byzantium and Persia in 572, the Turkish alliance proved of great value to the Emperor. Further embassies cemented it. A Turkish ambassador called Anankast visited Byzantium in about 571, while the Byzantines sent successively ambassadors called Eutychius, Herodian and Paul of Cilicia. But in 575 Istami died, and his son and successor

* I use the name Tou Kie in the following paragraphs to avoid confusion.

† Called by the Chinese the T'o-pa.

‡ The word is used by Theophylact Simocatta. The Arab historians of the ninth century still used the name ‘Tamghadj’ for the district of Lo-yang. The Tabghatch Turks have the credit of having produced the first great Turkish woman of history, Queen Hou (515-528), who is the prototype of those remarkable Turkish princesses, such as Torägana or Sorghaqtani, who married into the house of Gengis Khan.

§ The Arab historian Tabari uses the form “Sundjibou”. This and the Greek forms are probably corruptions of Istami's official title, Yabghou—a word not of Turkish but of Indo-Iranian origin.

|| A full account of the embassy is given by the Byzantine historian, Menander. Further descriptions of the Tou-Kie are given by Theophylact Simocatta.

Tardu (the Chinese called him Ta-Teou) was less friendly. The Byzantine ambassador Valentine, who arrived at his court in 580, was very badly received, apparently because the Emperor had concluded a treaty with certain Mongol tribes of the Steppes with whom the Khan was at war. Relations were interrupted, and, while the Tou-Kie continued their war against Persia, at the same time they made a number of cavalry raids against the Byzantine establishments in the Crimea. In 598 Tardu, who now considered himself as Khagan or supreme head of the Turks, sent a very haughty and threatening letter to the Emperor Maurice. But the Tou Kie were soon to collapse themselves, owing to the family quarrels of their princes. In 603 Tardu was deposed and died in exile, and within a few years the great Tou Kie empire was in dissolution. When it revived for a while at the close of the eighth century, it lost contact with Byzantium. The eastward advance of the Arabs and the westward advance of the Chinese cut off the old connection. With the Ougour Turks, the next great Turkish people to establish an empire in Eastern Asia (in the eighth and ninth centuries), the Byzantines had no relations, except through occasional merchants or through missionaries of the Nestorian Church, to which a growing number of Turkish tribes belonged.

(To be continued)

MODERN PERSIA AND THE FUTURE

BY ANN K. S. LAMBTON

(The author has lived in Persia for some years studying the language)

THE dominating factor in the development of modern Persia—that is to say, Qājār and post-Qājār Persia—has been Anglo-Russian relations and policies. In the past the rivalries and conflicting interests of these two Powers were often the cause of acute anxiety to Persia. British policy towards Persia was epitomized in the words of Lord Salisbury on the occasion of Muzaffar ud-Din's visit to England in 1873: "We desire above all things that Persia shall not only be prosperous but strong—strong in her resources, strong in her preparations, strong in her alliances—in order that she may pursue the peaceful path on which she has entered in security and tranquillity." Nevertheless, British policy towards Persia was not always regarded without suspicion by the Persians themselves, and, in view of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia, Persia was forced to take into consideration the reactions of these two Powers when embarking upon any broad general policies, whether in the field of foreign or of internal politics. To such an extent, indeed, did this tendency become ingrained in the Persian character that the majority of Persians even at the present day are apt to consider British and Russian influence to be the dominating factor deciding any line taken by the Persian Government. The régime of Rizā Shāh and its suppression of all freedom of expression did much to strengthen and foster this belief. Criticism of Rizā Shāh was ruthlessly suppressed, but no one objected if the British were abused for the ills of the country, and, since Rizā Shāh was regarded as having been brought to power by the British, so they naturally enough became the scapegoat. Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia was already an important factor in the situation in the early Qājār period, and even then the desire of Persia to escape from the grips of the destiny which her geographical situation had imposed upon her was clearly to be seen. The interest which the Persians showed in the advance of Napoleon, and the welcome offered to his emissaries, is not without resemblance to the hopes aroused at the beginning of this war by the victories of Hitler.

It was against such a background that Rizā Shāh rose to power. In the years following the Great War Persia was in a state bordering on the chaotic, with no strong direction. Anglo-Russian rivalry and mistrust continued, and the way was open for a skilful politician to seize power and turn this situation to his advantage.

It must be admitted, also, that there was no reluctance on the part of the British authorities to support the candidate who they considered would block the extension of Russian influence and re-establish order, such a person they thought they had found in Rizā Khān. The main reason, however, for his success was, no doubt, the promise of the restoration of order which his energy offered. Any solution is welcomed by a people tired of disorder and lack of security. Rizā Khān, or Rizā Shāh as he was later known, became the virtual ruler of Persia in 1923 when he became Prime Minister as well as Minister of War, which office he had held since 1921. In December, 1925, the crown of Persia was conferred upon him by the majlis.

In this article it is not proposed to do more than touch briefly on some of the achievements and results of his régime. The early years of his rule were occupied with the establishment of the authority of the central Government throughout the country, the breaking of the power of possible rivals, and the disarming and settling of the tribes. The predatory habits of the latter had been the bane of Persia for years, and it was in the establishment of security throughout the country that Rizā Shāh's most remarkable achievement lies. It must not be forgotten that this security from raiding by the tribes was an inestimable boon to the peasant and, in a smaller degree, to the townsman also.

Rizā Shāh's next task, having established the authority of the central Government throughout the country, was to create national unity. Provincial centres in Persia had always been strong and maintained their individuality and traditions. Rizā Shāh did much to break this and to substitute for local loyalties the conception of a greater Persia. With this policy inevitably went certain excesses and a tendency towards xenophobia. This consolidation of national unity was accomplished in the face of considerable natural disadvantages, which left their mark on the régime. Great prominence was thus assigned to the army, which was virtually independent of the Government and under the direct control of the Shāh. The régime thus established was almost inevitably of an autocratic nature. This, coupled with the weakness of the middle classes and a rigid censorship, prevented any effective desire for self-government. In view of the way in which national unity was achieved, it was perhaps natural that the chief adherents of Rizā Shāh in his efforts to establish a national consciousness were the military, the bureaucracy, and the professional classes, who hoped his policy of nationalism would open the way for them to political power.

Closely connected with the establishment of security and centralization was the development of communications. Without good communications the authority of the central Government could not be maintained. Largely thanks to Rizā Shāh, Persia now possesses a good system of road communications, although the first impetus in this development came from Russian road-building activities under the concession of 1902, and British activities in 1918. In addition to road construction, plans were made for railway development. The trans-Iranian railway from Ahwāz to the Caspian Sea was completed in the summer of 1938, and plans made for branch lines to spread throughout the country. The value of this railway has been the subject of much controversy. Its main object was to make Persia independent of her neighbours in matters of international trade, an object with which the majority of the educated public were clearly in agreement.

Having created national unity, Rizā Shāh was determined to modernize his country on a Western model. The basis of this, he realized, must be education, and consequently an extensive plan of educational development was undertaken. In recent years the progress of education has somewhat belied the early promise which the plans for development held out, the recent tendency of educational development having been to deprive the student of initiative and make him into a ready instrument of the Government. Nevertheless, foundations have been laid upon which future reformers can build.

One of the most important steps taken by Rizā Shāh in the modernization and education of his country was the unveiling and emancipation of women. This step was undoubtedly accompanied with a good deal of brutality, but this was probably inevitable if such a fundamental change was to be brought about, as it was, almost overnight. It is a tribute, moreover, to the adaptability of the Persian people that the change-over was accomplished so quickly. There is reason to hope that as a result of

this change Persian women of the future will be better equipped both physically and intellectually to cope with the problems which may face them.

Brief mention has been made above of some of the achievements of Rizā Shāh and the foundations laid by him in various fields upon which future rulers and administrations can build. There is, however, another side to the question. The régime of Rizā Shāh was a dictatorship supported by a 'terror' no less real than in some European countries. The concentration of power in the hands of one man, unwilling to listen to advice or counsel, who saw a potential rival in the person of any individual of more than average ability, inevitably caused a tendency among the people to confine their activities to what was merely trivial, and led to a degradation of character. Outstanding ability, indeed, became a liability rather than an asset.

Not only were those possessing outstanding ability not given any possibility of exercising their talents, but any tendency towards corporate organization was suppressed, and institutions which might one day form the nucleus of opposition to the dictatorship were ruthlessly destroyed. The craft guilds which had been an influence in the political life of the country were deprived of all power. It may well be that this was merely a hastening of a natural process, but at the same time there is little doubt that Rizā Shāh was not prepared to run the risk of the existence of any organization for mutual self-help which might oppose his dictates.

Similarly, the religious institutions had no place under the dictatorship as an independent institution, and had to be either destroyed or incorporated into the machinery of the State, the function of which was to suppress rather than to assure the freedom of the individual. This was an infinitely more difficult task. The religious classes were organized, had a considerable following among the people, and took an active part in political affairs. Their influence was in many respects reactionary and obscurantist, and there is little doubt that in breaking their power Rizā Shāh had the support of the educated section of the population. Unfortunately, however, he did not stop at merely destroying the political power of the religious classes, but attacked and brought into disrepute also the religious institution as such. Moreover, he was unable to substitute for this a political ideal of sufficiently strong moral and emotional as well as rational appeal to cement the national unity which he had endeavoured to create, and there seems little doubt that the rapid collapse in September, 1941, of the structure erected by him was in part due to this failure.

In his later years Rizā Shāh's lust for power and also for material possessions developed to such an extent that neither the persons nor the property of his subjects were safe from his hands. This example by the ruler encouraged officials, who were already prone to such action, to act in a similar way on a smaller scale themselves. There seems, moreover, reason to suppose that Rizā Shāh himself made little attempt in his later years to curb this tendency on the part of his officials, presumably on the grounds that those who were themselves corrupt would be more prone to fall in with his own plans for exploiting his subjects. In addition to this, or partly as a result of this, the old tendency for the upright to avoid Government service as something unclean, which was so clearly seen in Islamic middle ages, reasserted itself, and the better elements of society tended to retire from public life. With this failure to direct ability into constructive channels, corruption thoroughly permeated official life, and with it went a general degradation of character spreading throughout the whole people. It is this which is the great injury that Rizā Shāh has inflicted upon Persia.

The policy of Westernization adopted by Rizā Shāh, although in theory dictated by a desire for progress, was in fact carried out in such a way as to increase, in many respects, the general disillusionment brought about by the demoralization of public life. The real problem was the adaptation of the technical progress of the West to Persian needs. It was not realized that a civilization could not be built on imitation alone, and there was an all-too-common tendency to abandon and condemn as outmoded the national tradition and culture and to imitate the West, or those features of Western life which lent themselves most easily to imitation. The speedy results demanded by the dictatorship gave little time for assimilation, or, indeed, for the laying of firm foundations. Outward show was what counted, and it is this feature of modern Persian development, extending as it does to almost all branches of the national life, which has done much to create and extend the general feeling of dis-

illusionment. The fact, moreover, that this feature extended to education has led to a high degree of cynicism amongst even the younger generation, which is perhaps one of the most depressing features of modern Persian life.

Not only did the dictatorship lead to a degradation of the national character, but as its hold strengthened over all aspects of the national life, so did the individual feel less and less responsibility for the general state of affairs and no permanent stake in the welfare of the country. He had no sense of security either as regards his life and that of his family or his property. Such a position inevitably led to a policy of each man for himself, and increased any tendency there may have been for the efforts of the individual to be devoted to the attainment of personal and selfish interests and the exploitation of others.

One further point should be mentioned, since it had an important bearing on the events of September, 1941—namely, German penetration of the economic life of the country and German propaganda. It is beyond the scope of this article to describe the causes leading up to the acquisition by Germany of a dominant influence in the economic affairs of Persia, or the methods by which she acquired this. As elsewhere, the economic penetration of the country was but a preliminary step to political domination. An extensive and active propaganda organization existed to attain this end. The suppression of freedom and democratic institutions and the prevalence of corruption and bribery made the ground fertile for its activities. German technicians and others, moreover, took great pains to establish cordial relations by mixing on equal terms with minor officials who were nevertheless in key positions. The short-sightedness of Rizā Shāh's policy in allowing German influence to increase virtually unchecked was clearly shown by the events of September, 1941.

With the abdication of Rizā Shāh in September, 1941, which was the direct result of the invasion of the country by Anglo-Russian troops in order to forestall possible action by the Germans, came an immediate release of the strict control which had been exercised over all aspects of the national life. This was not, however, accompanied by a change in the ranks of the administration. The officials, with few exceptions, remained the same. The terror exercised by Rizā Shāh went, but it was not accompanied, as had been hoped, by a clean sweep in official circles. There were obvious reasons for this: the results of twenty years could not be undone overnight, those who belonged to the pre-Rizā Shāh period were few in number and for the most part either unfitted to cope with modern conditions or loath to come out of their retirement, while the younger generation, who had been less concerned in the extortions of Rizā Shāh's past, had neither sufficient experience nor support from their fellows to enable them to take over the country. Moreover, the ruling classes were strongly installed and not ready to give up their privileges easily. Thus the immediate results of the removal of the strong hand of Rizā Shāh from the Government were a decrease in security in outlying areas, a general tendency for the administration to break down, and a more open indulgence in corruption by officials in charge of affairs. As against this, however, came the hope of improvement offered by the possibility of a relatively free expression of opinion and of eventual participation in the affairs of State. Inevitably there was a reaction when the abdication of Rizā Shāh, whose rule had by that time become almost unbearably oppressive, was not followed immediately by the millennium. Further, the rapidity with which the structure created by Rizā Shāh had collapsed, although it did not perhaps come as a surprise to many of the more thoughtful who had realized this structure had been built on false foundations, increased the general feeling of disillusionment, without, however, acting as a spur to bring about reform.

Thus Persia is now faced with the choice between the continuation of present conditions, in which a virtually free rein is allowed to personal interests, and which must inevitably lead to chaos and that, in turn, in all probability, to another military dictatorship, and the establishment of a relatively progressive régime which will enable her in the field of internal affairs to develop along lines suited to the peculiar genius of her people, and in the field of foreign affairs to maintain friendly relations with her neighbours. It seems unlikely that Persia, in view of the world situation and the circumstances which have conditioned her recent development, will be able to put her house in order without Allied co-operation, but there is no reason to suppose that

this will be withheld Persia's position in the war is an important one Her contribution is largely one of the provision of transit facilities for the Allies This obviously imposes certain limitations on the national life and involves the presence of foreign troops—albeit allies—on Persian soil But, at the same time, it also offers Persia opportunities for development which she would not otherwise have enjoyed A quiet Persia is an important Allied interest, and a quiet Persia can only be secured if the people are reasonably contented and assured of a minimum standard of living There is every reason, therefore, for the Allies to help and encourage any Government which is prepared to take steps to assure this Hence, given energetic and courageous leadership, Persia can turn the present situation, unpalatable though it may be, to her own advantage and lay well and truly the foundations for a prosperous and progressive future Moreover, her position and status in the post-war world will inevitably depend largely on her ability to seize the opportunities of the present If she delays too long, both for internal and external reasons, the chance may not recur

As indicated above, the situation offers promise, if rightly used and if given the benevolent support of the Allies These are two important 'ifs' With regard to the latter, as stated above, there is no reason to suppose this will be withheld With regard to the former, it will obviously depend largely upon the character of the people in charge of affairs There have been many different assessments of the Persian character Their artistic and intellectual gifts are generally admitted, but they are often accused of falsehood, cowardice, lack of principle, and corruption I would suggest that these judgments are based on a superficial knowledge of Persian character These qualities were admittedly common among the courts of the Qājār period and in official life in the late years of Ruzā Shāh, whose methods, as the above pages have attempted to show, did much to accentuate these tendencies It is with these classes that Europeans have had most dealings, and hence their somewhat hasty generalizations It is, however, one of the basic problems facing modern Persia to attract into public life the best type of Persian, who possesses many real virtues It is only such people who, given sufficient moral support from the Allies, will prove equal to the task of reconstruction and reform Thus, fundamental to the general question of reform is administrative reform, without which little can be done

It would seem that any Persian Government which hopes to be successful in its task of reorganization requires two policies Firstly, a short-term policy which must be concerned largely with Persia's position in the world at war and her relations with the Allies, and, secondly, a long-term policy which must be concerned with laying the foundations for post war development, and upon the success of which will largely depend her ability to maintain her position as an independent nation in the post war world

The short term policy must be concerned, clearly, largely with the maintenance of internal security, the provision of adequate grain supplies for her own internal consumption, and giving to the Allies such transport facilities as they require for the prosecution of the war

As regards a long term policy, the basis of this, if reconstruction is to be successful, must be education This must be designed to prepare the student to take his or her place in the life of the community and to create in him a sense of civic responsibility More attention should be given than heretofore to character training and to fostering a spirit of self reliance, while the utmost emphasis should be laid on integrity Under the present system—good though it may be on paper—the child is acquainted from his earliest years with corruption and partiality

Hand in hand with education must go an extensive programme for public health Sound minds cannot be produced without sound bodies Particular attention must be given to rural districts, where there are few amenities and where the possibility of obtaining medical attention is limited In an agricultural country such as Persia it is of primary importance to offer to rural dwellers reasonable standards of life, of education, and recreation in order that the national economy may not be unbalanced by a flight from the land

As stated above, Persia is primarily an agricultural country, and it is by developing her natural resources that she may best hope for a prosperous future One of the great difficulties is lack of water supplies Much, however, could be done by schemes for

the construction of dams and reservoirs to conserve the water from the winter snows. In the course of time the land tenure system would probably require reform and some co-operative system instituted among the peasants for the sharing of modern agricultural implements and co-operative marketing.

Although Persia is primarily an agricultural country, there is, nevertheless, no reason why industry should not be developed also. One of the problems facing her in this connection which requires immediate treatment is the problem of workers' conditions and their exploitation by vested interests. Some kind of workers' charter assuring them of reasonable working conditions and Government inspection for the enforcement of this is vital to the future of the country if industrial development is not to be followed by civil strife.

These in rough outline are some of the many problems confronting Persia. It is not claimed that all have been touched upon, but it is suggested that there are grounds for hope that the people of Persia, given favourable conditions outside—that is to say, if the country is not ravaged and laid waste by war and the Allies adopt a policy of friendly co-operation—will rise to the solution of these problems and overcome the difficulties which face them. The Allies, however, must understand that neutrality alone or abstention from interference in the internal affairs of Persia, in view of the firmly established belief that all developments in the country were accomplished at the wish of either the British or the Russians, is not enough; there must also be friendly co-operation in the solution of the problems which face Persia. Given this, it may be hoped that Persia may attain the realization of her highest potentialities, and, maintaining her distinctive individuality, may once more make contributions, especially in the spiritual and intellectual field, to the civilization of the world, which is indebted to her for many such in the past.

LITERARY INDIA

V

THE INDIAN BRANCH OF ENGLISH LITERATURE (Continued)

BY DR. RANJEE G. SHAHANI

AMONG the journalists of the older generation, some of whom still continue to produce, we may mention Ramananda Chatterjee, Sachidananda Sinha, and St. Nihal Singh. The first is a good and even great man, but we cannot praise his English style. It is very heavily encrusted with Babusisms. The second is a far better writer and also a much clearer thinker. It is, however, the third who represents the best in Indian journalism. St. Nihal Singh has written a lot, but nothing cheap, or shallow, or coarse. He has both wit and wisdom. Some of his books, published years ago, still hold the attention. This cannot be said of the work of most journalists.

But to come to the present position of Indian letters. Poets who have expressed themselves in English are very, very few. The most distinguished of these is undoubtedly Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. He has a touch of genius. Here is a poem of his entitled "Eternal Union":

Who shall dare sever you from me
While colour keeps its marriage vow
In every bloom on every tree,
In every leaf on every bough?

Yea, who shall sever you from me
While music keeps its marriage-word
In the glad hum of every bee
In the wild note of every bird?

Lo, separation is a lie
While in superb celestial lust
White stars are mating in the sky
And blood red roses in the dust.

Most of the qualities and defects of Mr Chattopadhyaya are to be found in this short piece. The poem begins well, and then falls off badly. The last stanza gives us a jolt, and the phrase "superb celestial lust" is clotted nonsense. One feels that Mr Chattopadhyaya is not perfectly at home in English. But, then, to write poetry in a foreign language one must acquire that tongue in the nursery. There is no other way. Mr Chattopadhyaya is cramped in every way by his imperfect knowledge of English.

From time to time, in the pages of the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, we have come across pretty lyrics by one Padmaji. These sometimes attain a real beauty of tone. But whether the lady has produced any volumes of verse we do not know. However, if her efforts were collected, we are sure they would please many.

A single poem is not much to judge by, yet in writing "The World Conqueror" (it appeared in the *New English Weekly* in 1936 and again in *The Sufi* in 1938) Mr Hassan Ali has given us a fine piece of work. The musical charm of the poem defies analysis. Despite slight awkwardnesses, it haunts the mind. We recall the concluding stanza, which, in the light of present-day events, seems almost prophetic:

Ask of the Asian Snake
When will Genghis wake.
Rataplan! Rataplan!
Cry the drums of Japan,
When Europe burns
Genghis returns

Among novelists, Mr Hassan Ali must have a distinguished place. Here, again, he has given us but one book, *The Changeling*. This is a curious work. There are parts that only an Oriental could have written, and there are others utterly Western in spirit. It looks as though Mr Hassan Ali were trying to unite two worlds—one dead, the other powerless to be born. In any case, his is a brave effort. The novel, as a novel, is full of faults, its characters are not individuals but generalized types, and the romantic yearnings and realistic details are too much mixed up, but the importance of the work lies, as we have already suggested, in its vision, which is that of a new being—the spiritual Indo-Englishman. Concerning its style, here is a characteristic passage:

"I'll take you to the East," he murmured, "to the land of the lotus, and your dreams shall come true. Oh, the nights of India! Paula, they are listless as wonder, serene as sadness, opal as love. One may touch the stars, and flesh is transfigured. One may listen to the eternal harmonies beyond the border where sound is enamoured of silence, and silence itself is a voice. To this land I'll take you, my Paula, and together we'll scatter the seed for the harvest that time will bring forth."

Is this Babuism? If so, Pater was a Babu, Yeats was a Babu, and Charles Morgan is a Babu.

R K Narayan is another novelist who has done excellent work. His *Swami and Friends* was a notable first novel. Childhood was described with wit and intuitive understanding. The simple method of telling the story harmonized perfectly with the theme. His second novel, *Bachelor of Arts*, though more ambitious, lacked the force of nature of the earlier. We do not suggest that Mr Narayan did not know the life he was describing, but that he had gone beyond his depth. He is at his best when dealing with simple everyday situations.

With Mr Mulk Raj Anand, the best known of present-day Indian novelists, we come to a very gifted writer. He has a sharp sense of humour, a brilliant style, creative power, and, what is no less important, real culture. He is a better artist than many English and American writers who enjoy bigger reputations. This is not to say that Mr Anand is above reproach or ultimately satisfying. No, he has several faults. He describes the life of the humble and the disinherited, not as it is, but as he imagines it to be. Tolstoy was an aristocrat who saw things through the eyes of a peasant. We cannot say of Mr Anand that he is a bourgeois who sees things through the eyes of the under-dog. Then, he simply cannot contemplate these people with serene detachment; he is perpetually indignant at their folly and insensitivity. He does not understand their point of view. All this makes one say that Mr Anand looks at truth "askance and strangely". The fact is, he is a sentimentalist at heart. Were he to learn to write sceptically, à la Maupassant, he might be a far greater novelist. Still, *The Village* is a fine creation. *Coolie Untouchable*, *Two Buds and a Leaf*, and *Across the Black Waters* are queer productions; they attract, repel, interest, irritate, and one can't forget them. However, Mr Anand is growing, and his vision of life is deepening. He may yet give us a flawless masterpiece.*

India is particularly rich in philosophical writers. Dr Radhakrishnan is the most famed of all in Europe. There is no doubt about the merits of his work; his studies in Hindu philosophy are very good things of their kind, but they are neither particularly original nor particularly profound. However, they serve their purpose admirably.

Dr Das Gupta, in the opinion of many good judges, is a deeper student of Hindu thought. His style is difficult and unattractive, but what he has to say is always light-bringing.

The other philosophical writers who might be mentioned are Professor Mahendranath Sircar, Professor D. S. Sarma, Mr Raj Narain, Mr C. Rajagopalachari, Swami Nihilanand, Mr Narayan Ayyar, Mr Nihar Sanjan Ray, Dr D. T. Raju, and Mr M. G. Malkani. All these men have done valuable work. Truth, however, compels us to say that, with the single exception of Aurobindo Ghose, who is probably the finest constructive thinker of our times, India has no system-builders of any *envergure*. There are many critics and commentators of the ancient texts, but hardly any originators of large seminal ideas.

The number of essayists and literary appreciators is legion. Here are some who have done really good work: Jyotish Ghosh, R. P. Guha, J. M. Kumarappa, K. M. Munshi, K. S. Shelvankar, Radhakumud Mookerjee, N. Narsimha Moorty, Masti Venkata Iyengar, K. S. Venkataraman, D. S. Ramachandra Rao, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, and Swami Ghananda.

There are not many short story writers of quality in India. First, the art form is difficult, and then, it is not easy to find a market for this kind of work. However, despite these obstacles, a few have cultivated this literary genre. Rabindranath Tagore is supreme here. One or two of his efforts are better than anything that Western artists have given us. In saying this, we are not forgetting, but remembering, Chekov and Maupassant. To compare *The Ghat* with *The Lady with the Dog* is to realize the difference between wisdom and brittle intellectuality. But let that pass. Mulk Raj Anand produced a short book of stories, but these contained nothing memorable. Mr R. K. Narayan has given us some excellent sketches. Mr J. Vijaya Tunga, in *Grass for my Feet*, wrote a number of exquisite and beautifully-phrased etchings of primitive Ceylonese life. Here the list practically ends.

On sociological subjects we have a fine writer in Dr M. N. Dhalla, who is also a deep student of Zoroastrianism and comparative religion. Another author who has

* We have just read Mr Anand's new novel, *The Sword and the Sickle*, and we are painfully disappointed. To say the least, the book is ungracious, and contains thoughts and sentiments that do not seem to emanate from a still centre. Works of art, as Wordsworth rightly said, are not created in the torrid zone of the passions, but on the return journey to the temperate. Because Mr Anand is sombre and burning, the smoke from his torch has crept into his style too. Sad. But perhaps this dark night of the soul will soon end. We sincerely hope so. Mr Anand is capable of giving us finer things.

worked the same vein is K. S. Ramaswami Sastrī. Mr. K. S. Kumarappa also must be mentioned here. Finally, there is the Anglo-Indian (new style) Mr. Cedric Dover, whose *Half Caste* was a notable book.

It is not possible to write about everyone. We might, however, say that modern Indians have done remarkable work in almost every branch of human activity.

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The defects of Indian literature as a whole are want of the critical spirit, lack of proportion, and the inveterate habit of precipitancy in thought and feeling. But for the multiplicity of output, largeness of outlook, and the burning desire for the eternal verities, no literature in the world excels the Indian.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

JOURNAL OF THE THAILAND (SIAM) RESEARCH SOCIETY Vol. xxxi, Part 2
(December, 1939) Review, by Professor Coedès, of *Buddhist Art in Siam*

(Reviewed by REGINALD LE MAY, PH.D. [CANTAB.])

I had the pleasure of reviewing this number of the *Journal of the Thailand Research Society* in the first issue of *Indian Art and Letters* for 1940 (vol. xiv, No. 1), and I stated in conclusion that the journal ended with a long review by Professor Coedès of my work on *Buddhist Art in Siam*, which is the most detailed review that has yet appeared, and which raises a number of problems which, as I said, I hoped to deal with at a later date.

Although it is not possible to give here even a summary of Professor Coedès' review, which I studied with the greatest interest, I feel that a number of readers may now be interested to see the answers which I have given to the questions raised—questions which, I hope, will become apparent from the subject-matter of the answers themselves.

First of all, I should like to say something of both the aim and the scope of the book. After paying a tribute, which I much appreciate from such a critical source, to the method, precision, and æsthetic sense to be found in my work, Professor Coedès expresses a certain regret that, in describing beautiful specimens of Buddhist sculpture, I have preferred to allow my emotions full scope and to dwell on their æsthetic qualities rather than to confine myself to a cool and objective analysis of the elements which have produced that impression. I admit the impeachment, but the intention was deliberate, and I would like to be allowed to repeat what I wrote in acknowledgment of Dr. Carthew's review in the *Bangkok Times* of November 24, 1938:

Out of the many reviews from Europeans which I have received, I think that Dr. Carthew is the only one who has fully understood the feelings which prompted me to write the book, and who has shown a complete sympathy with its purpose. Dr. Carthew has realized that, in spite of the use of the word in the sub-title, I did not set out to write just a "history," but rather to try to piece together a mosaic or, as he calls it, a tapestry picture of the beauty to be found in the art of Thailand, if one has the eyes to see it and the heart to feel it. When he says, "This very attractive theme of beauty weaves its way like a thread of silver through nearly every page of the book, and, to me, everything else in it appears to be quite subsidiary," he is expressing in exactly the right words the aim I had in view, and that I have succeeded in my task with at least one reader affords me, and will continue to afford me, the most lasting satisfaction.

One of the most perplexing, if interesting, aspects of reviews, from the author's standpoint, is in what different guises he appears to reviewers. One

speaks of the sense of beauty underlying the whole work. Another classifies me as primarily a historian and an archaeologist, but adds that I do not shrink from aesthetic valuation! One says that the basis of discussion is carefully laid, the reasoning cautiously explained, and the conclusions modestly suggested. Another says that my assessments of the relative aesthetic and spiritual merits of the sculptures concerned are set down with an *ex-cathedra* assurance, which the lay reader or the specialist student must accept or reject as a whole. This will show how difficult it is for an author to present his case, clearly and without possibility of misunderstanding, to all readers. It will be well, therefore, for me to state that I wish the work to be judged mainly from the aesthetic or art, and only incidentally from the historical or archaeological, point of view. As for my own collection of sculpture, many pieces from which are illustrated in the book, each example was chosen to take its proper place in the mosaic picture I was attempting to create, but the test for its inclusion lay primarily in its artistic or aesthetic value, and not in its archaeological interest. I am glad to see that most reviewers have recognized this fact.

The first eight pages of my work are intended to strike the keynote of the whole theme, and they constitute, in my own mind, not only a necessary introduction to the subject of the book, but also, perhaps, my chief contribution to the cause which we, who study and try to interpret Eastern art, have most at heart. And yet it is curious to note that nearly all the European reviewers—the three chief exceptions being Dr Carthew, Professor H. G. Rawlinson, and Monsieur A. van Gennep in the *Mercure de France*—have, to all intents and purposes, ignored this introduction and dealt with the work purely from its archaeological and historical aspects. On the other hand, nearly all the reviews which have reached me from India and Ceylon have laid especial emphasis on the introductory part of the book. This result, in itself a little disappointing, if not altogether unexpected, only shows me how essential it was to try to analyze the differences that underlie the Eastern and Western approaches to art, if we of the West are to understand fully the beauties of Eastern art.

With regard to the scope of the work, Professor Coedès suggests that I have in a sense rather neglected two aspects of art and archaeology in Thailand—namely, architecture and decoration—a more profound study of which would without doubt help us to resolve various problems of origin and evolution which sculpture in itself is unable to elucidate. This is, in the main, true, but there were good reasons for this apparent neglect. In the first place, my thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was limited to a certain maximum of words, and, though I could, of course, have enlarged the work subsequently, this would have unduly delayed publication, which, as it was, did not take place until a year and a half after its acceptance by the University. Secondly, and of more importance, I had made no serious study of architecture and decoration during my residence in Thailand, and, this being so, it would have entailed years of hard study in Europe before I could have felt myself competent to embark on such a project. My own feeling is that, if Mr Healey, the Society's honorary architect, would devote a number of years to a critical study of all the known types of architecture in Thailand, he would be doing us art students a great service. As I said on page 130, "Indeed, the temple architecture of the Tai needs further careful study, and, although Dohring has published an interesting work on this subject, his treatment is more descriptive and purely technical than analytic or artistic." In writing these words, I had Mr Healey in mind as the obvious authority to carry out such a study.

So much for the aim and scope of the work. Now for Professor Coedès' general comments on the work itself, which, as may be imagined, have given me serious food for thought, but which, to my own satisfaction, are neither so heavy nor so numerous as I had, with some trepidation, expected.

In dealing with chapter two he rather regrets that I should have followed him so faithfully in establishing my chronological order and in my division of the iconographic material into its various schools. He says that, when he

laid down these provisional divisions in 1926, it was for the especial purpose of classifying the exhibits in the National Museum into separate and distinctive sections, and that he had no intention of creating a definite nomenclature. He adds that, although I have improved upon his nomenclature, I have adhered to the general plan, and he would have preferred me to postpone the publication of such a plan pending a more detailed study of the whole problem.

While I respect Professor Coedès' opinion in this matter, I can assure him that I only adopted the scheme (which he must remember he did publish himself) after mature consideration, and, on further reflection, I still do not feel clear in my mind as to what alternative plan I could have adopted, or how I could have bettered it. I note that he himself makes no suggestions in this regard, and it seems to me that the only two schools which *may* possibly require some revision in the future are those of Dvāravatī and U-T'ong, to which he specifically refers. Even here I cannot help feeling that these names fulfil a certain function at the present time, even if our knowledge of the history attaching to them is still meagre in extent, in inviting research and challenging criticism.

Professor Coedès next observes that I was wrong in affirming that there were no buildings (*édifices*) of the Dvāravatī period still extant, and draws my attention to the curious basements or plinths, of a very Indian character, excavated in 1928 at Wat Yai, near to the town of Prapathom, and reproduced by Luang Boribal in his *Ancient Monuments of Siam* (part 1, plate iv.). It is true that on page 6 I said, 'Of the earliest forms of architecture erected in Siam nothing is known, as there is nothing standing above ground on which to form an idea as to its style', and on page 27 I repeated, 'There are no buildings of the Dvāravatī period above ground today in Siam', but in my own defence I must say that I was referring to 'buildings' as such, as will be seen from the context on page 6, when I go on to state that 'Khmer temples and ruins are still to be seen'. What I had in mind was that one could as yet form no general idea as to the appearance of a temple or sanctuary of that early period, and, although I admit that I overlooked the instance to which he refers (unnecessarily so, as I have a copy of Luang Boribal's book in my possession and referred to it on page 17, footnote 4), such a basement as the one at Wat Yai, or that at Pong Tuk, brings to the mind no very concrete picture of what the superstructure was like. It is in this connection that my reference to Wat Kukut at Lampang on page 98 is interesting, though, as I suggested there, it is only a possibility (yet not by any means without the bounds of reason) that that temple is the one remaining example of the architectural style of Dvāravatī.

On the subject of Cīrvijaya, I fully realize the rapid strides that research has been making in the last year or two, and all I could do in my work was to try and bring the fruits of that research up to date as far and as accurately as possible. This I hope I have done. I am afraid that the date—September, 1937—given in my preface is a polite fiction. The book was finished in December, 1936, accepted by the Cambridge University Press in May, 1937, and actually began to be proofed in July of that year, so that the researches of Mr F M Schnitger were not available to me in time, nor was Professor Cordes' reply to Dr Quaritch Wales, though I managed later on to include a footnote (No. 1 on page 41) to the effect that he was making such a reply.

With regard to the origin of the Khmer sanctuary type, to which I had found interesting parallels in the Central Provinces of India, I have taken note of the Professor's reference to the temples of Bhītargaon. The interesting and, to me, unexpected aspect of these temples in Central India, referred to by Sir A. Cunningham, Beglar, and Codrington, is that they are all of Gupta origin, and date from suggested periods between the fifth and eighth centuries of our era. But there is still no known direct connection between Gupta and Khmer art and architecture (even in the Funan or pre-Angkor period the Gupta influence in Buddhist statuary is thought to have come through the intermediary of Dvāravatī), and all the other evidence available up to now seems to point to a connection between the Khmer and the

Pallava dynasty of South-Eastern India. As we proceed, the problems of purely Khmer origins seem to grow more and more complex.

On the theme of Tai (and Môn) idealism in sculpture on the one hand, and Khmer realism on the other, I am still not convinced of the Professor's proposition that Khmer sculpture is scarcely more realistic than Tai, only that its "ideal" is nearer to our own, and hence makes the greater appeal. It seems to me that there is a sharp distinction to be drawn between the Funan and pre Angkor art of Cambodia, which is essentially idealist, and the later developments of Khmer art. In these I often seem to recognize a definite portrait—take, for instance, any of figs. 81, 82, or 83, all of which have a human appeal. Against this, the art of Bayon of the late twelfth century evidently reverts to the ideal type, though here, as Dupont has suggested, there seems to have occurred a throw-back to the Dvāravatī influence, which in itself was idealistic. More than one person in England has told me that they found Khmer classical statuary difficult to live with, so strong was the personality which emerged from the countenance—it seemed to tower over and almost terrify them. Such a feeling, I suggest, could hardly be experienced as emanating from symbolic Buddhist statuary, of which calm and serene contemplation is an essential constituent.

In regard to the period of decline of the Khmer Empire, I admit my error in saying, both on page 58 and again on page 109, that by the beginning of the thirteenth century (in the first instance) and by the end of the twelfth century (in the second) the Khmer dominion was definitely on the wane. I was, indeed, well aware of the territorial expansion under Jayavarman VII, who rebuilt Angkor Thom, and I was, in a sense, almost contradicting myself, because I had already stated, on page 11, that the Khmer probably did not reach Sawankalok until the twelfth century. I can only ascribe my error to one of those unaccountable aberrations to which the human mind is unfortunately prone. The period of decline, as Professor Coedès indicates, does not begin until well into the thirteenth century.

I now come to the last of Professor Coedès' general comments—namely, the complex and debatable question of the School of U-T'ong, which, according to him, has not been completely resolved by my researches. This I freely admit, and, indeed, in such a pioneer work it would have been presumptuous to suppose that the problems involved in this question have all been satisfactorily solved. I do regret, however, from a study of the Professor's comments, that I have not made my own position clear to him.

On page 138 I stated that "for my own part I feel that, taken as a whole, the School of U-T'ong represents a normal development from the Khmer to the Tai throughout Lower-Central Siam, and that, before a true Tai type was evolved, Tai or Tai Khmer sculptors were giving such a free rein to their individual tastes and fancies in the delineation of the features as never occurred before or since in the country. As the Bayon style of Khmer art is now attributed to the end of the twelfth century, it would naturally play an important part in the work of the Tai artists, yet I do not think that the latter were bound by any one style, but that they fashioned their images in their own localities entirely independent of one another, until the School of Suk'ot'ai had had time to penetrate this region and cast its all-pervading influence over them."

This represents broadly my present position in the matter, and seems to me to be the reason why we find such an extraordinary variety of types, and even if this transition period from Khmer to Tai was not confined to the U-T'ong and Ayudhya regions (as we have reason to believe it was not), still, as the Prince of U-T'ong was the man to found the Ayudhyan dynasty and may be regarded as the first Tai ruling Prince in Lower-Central Siam, I think it was a happy inspiration on the part of Professor Coedès to have applied his name and region to this particular school. At any rate, I saw, and still see, no harm in adopting it.

From the foregoing expression of opinion it will be seen that the Professor is mistaken in attributing to me, in my description of the evolution of the style, the presentation to my readers of "a curve which first of all began

with a purely Tai art, then passed through a transition or mixed art in which the original predominating element was gradually eliminated, and finished in an art which again was purely Tai" I did not intend to convey this impression at all, and I can only think that his misunderstanding is due to my inadequate method of analyzing his and Dupont's own theories. Perhaps I had better state them briefly once more.

Professor Coedès develops his views by dividing the sculpture of U-T'ong into two principal groups. The first is represented by a type of image whose elongated oval face is analogous to the style of Suk'ot'ai, this type becoming the direct ancestor of the modern statuary of the School of Ayudhya. The second type shows, on the other hand, a reaction against the School of Suk'ot'ai and exaggerates, sometimes in rather a clumsy fashion, the chief Khmer characteristics. Let me state here at once that figs 168 and 169 (but not 170), which he believes me to attribute to a purely Tai art, were chosen by me as examples of his *second* type. They are, in my eyes, probably of Tai origin, and may be classed as definite imitations of the Khmer style, probably rather late in date, possibly even fourteenth century. I did not mean to put them forward as early examples of U-T'ong art.

Dupont also divides the sculpture of U-T'ong into two groups, the first of which is a normal derivative of Khmer art, especially of the Bayon style, while the second group has obvious affinities with the Tai schools of art. In this second group the face is thinner and the expression is more *nuancé*, of Khmer influence there only remains the band on the forehead. Dupont finds it difficult to establish priority between these two groups, and rather pertinently asks "At what stage of development of the Tai schools have we arrived when the art of U-T'ong appears?"

Why I incline more to Dupont's theory and am not altogether satisfied with that of Professor Coedès is because, in enumerating only those types which are either analogous to Suk'ot'ai or are conscious imitations of the Khmer, he seems to leave on one side the whole group which I have illustrated under figs 171 to 180 inclusive, and which were intended to show the gradual transition from almost pure Khmer to almost pure Tai. Look at the eyebrows in all of these, and compare them with figs 181 and 182. You will see, in this feature, perhaps more clearly than in any other, the true Khmer-Tai transition before there is any influence traceable from Suk'ot'ai. I am sorry that I did not draw attention to this feature in my work, but it is only wholesome criticism such as Professor Coedès has brought to bear upon it that makes one wiser after the event.

I quite agree that figs 171 and 172 are, as he suggests, scarcely distinguishable from Khmer statues in bronze found at Lopburi, such as fig 91, but, on mature reflection since I published my work, I am not certain that there may not be some slight Tai influence in some of these bronze standing figures as well. It is a very delicate matter, and I do not wish to press it now unduly, but I have a feeling that the Khmer School of Lopburi may eventually have to be subdivided into Mön Khmer, Khmer, and Khmer-Tai. The stone head (fig 186) seems to point in this direction also. This is a case where it is not yet possible to communicate one's feelings to others through the pen, but in any case I hope I have been able to make my own position clearer *vis-à-vis* the School of U-T'ong.

There now remain for me to consider the detailed points of criticism which Professor Coedès has raised.

I now realize, from my ignorance of Sanskrit grammar, that I was led into an error in translating "Suk'ot'ai" as the "Happiness of the Tai, or Free." Perhaps the best translation of "Sukhodaya" (Sukha udaya) would be "The Birth of Happiness."

As concerns the images which I chose for illustration out of Nai Hong Navanugraha's book as presenting problems of origin, I admit that the conical coiffure of fig 10 does seem to correspond to that in figs 171 and 172. But the posture of the arms and hands, and the great stretch of leg between the knees, strike a very unfamiliar note in my mind, as do the arms and hands in fig 11. On riper consideration, however, I admit I was wrong in

suggesting a possible Indian origin for either of these figures, and they may be classed, perhaps, as peculiar varieties of Khmer or Khmer-Tai images, locally produced. I may add that, since my return to England, I have seen a considerable number of images and heads, attributable to the Lopburi School, in which the countenances differ from one another to a remarkable degree, and some of them at least show a definite Tai influence. This is another reason for my earlier suggestion of dividing the School of Lopburi into Môn Khmer, Khmer, and Khmer-Tai.

With regard to the origin of fig. 14, it will be seen from footnote 4 on page 17 that it is stated, according to Luang Boribal, to have been found in the district of Mahasarakam in the centre of North-Eastern Siam. This agrees with the comment made by Professor Coedès. My own remark was to the effect that I could offer no definite opinion as to the *original* provenance of this and fig. 13, but the Professor has been able to recognize them as products of the Nālandā School and therefore, presumably, of Pāla origin.

I myself do not think that there is any doubt as to the authenticity of the original head shown in fig. 29, but I agree with Professor Coedès that it has been cleverly recut by a modern hand, in a way which robs it somewhat of its Môn character, especially in the eyes and the mouth. Curiously enough, when I held an exhibition at Cambridge in February, 1937, this head was chosen out of the whole collection by the wife of the President of the Arts Club there, who is an accomplished sculptress, to make a copy in wood, so that the unknown hand made an impression upon one modern artist!

As to the æsthetic quality to be found in Khmer and pre-Khmer bronzes, I think that Professor Coedès has, perhaps, read more into my remarks than I intended, especially in so far as purely Khmer bronzes are concerned. The emphasis of his comments is laid on these, but the reader will see, from a perusal of pages 32 and 33, that I was discussing the bronzes ascribed to the Môn in particular, and that, in speaking of Khmer art, I said "The same question arose, though not to the same degree". Figs. 33 and 34 are good average specimens of the earlier Môn bronze sculpture, and no one, I think, could claim that they were worthy of comparison with any of the Môn stone sculpture portrayed in my work. Absurdly large sums were always asked for early bronze figures by the dealers, possibly on account of their rarity, but, as I was collecting primarily from an æsthetic point of view, I never considered them worthy of purchase, but purely as museum pieces. Fig. 35, which is obviously of later date—possibly, as I said, tenth century—was the only one that I saw that satisfied my critical eye.

I willingly admit and agree that the Khmer sculptors in bronze rose to much greater heights than their Môn predecessors, and I have, in addition to images, a ring and a hook for a palanquin, which I did not illustrate, but which are definitely works of art. But I still hope that Professor Coedès will agree with me when I say that, regarding the matter broadly, their artistic output in bronze is in no way comparable with their achievements in stone, and that is all that I wished to convey to my readers. Compression, in the printer's cause, can have grave disadvantages.

Professor Coedès has, I think, not quite understood the purport of the last paragraph on page 33, where I speak of the posture of the legs. I was not referring to the difference between those legs which are definitely crossed and those which rest the one upon the other, but rather to a peculiarity found in the Môn and Khmer Schools, in which the legs, though resting upon one another, are drawn inwards to form a curve in the centre. I have not remarked this feature among Tai images.

I am glad to be corrected in my ascription of the two statues of Hari-Hara from Cambodia, of which I gave illustrations, to the kingdom of Funan. They should, I take it, come under the heading of "pre-Angkor".

I have taken due note of the Professor's remarks with reference to the identification of the State of Ch'ih-t'u, that it could not have occupied the position where Črideb stood, but must be looked for on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, in the region of Pat'alung. My suggestion was only a pos-

sibility—which I admit was wide of the mark—but it still remains a mystery as to exactly what relation, if any, Çrideb bore to Funan, or whether it was entirely independent. It seems to me to be strange to find such an independent kingdom, so small in area and so far removed from the sea-coast and the main routes.

I have also taken note that Professor Coedès is not at all convinced that the bas-reliefs of Tat Panom are "early Khmer", and I can only regret that he has not expressed himself more fully regarding their origin and nature. The question at once proposes itself—if they are not early Khmer (and they surely cannot be late), what are they? There is no Tai or Môn influence to be seen in the art which they express, and the first of the series, showing the seated Buddha preaching, with an *apsaras* on either side and devotees, is, I think, one of the most interesting scenes, from the iconographical standpoint, in the whole of Indo-China, both on account of the style portrayed and of the site where it is to be found. I am glad to see that the Professor thinks these lively carvings, which to me are of great importance, worthy of further study.

I have duly noted all the other points which the Professor has raised, and which I much appreciate, but they do not call for any counter-comment. In conclusion I should like to thank him for the great trouble he has taken to study and criticize my work so fully, and I can only emphasize the fact that it was not undertaken with any hope of writing "Finis" to the examination of the sculptural art of Thailand, but chiefly in the hope of placing our studies of the complex problems involved on a surer foundation, and if this object is achieved I shall rest well content.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION Vols xiv-xvi (*Government of India Press*)

(Reviewed by C COLLIN DAVIES)

In 1919 a small consultative body under the name of the Indian Historical Records Commission was created to advise the Government of India on the preservation, sorting, listing, and calendaring of the records in its keeping. Later the Commission extended its activities to private collections and encouraged the owners to place their family papers at the disposal of historical experts. Meetings were held regularly from 1919 to 1930, when the sequence was rudely broken by the axe of retrenchment. The fourteenth session at Lahore in 1937 was a renewal of these yearly conferences. The fifteenth was held at Poona in 1938, and the sixteenth at Calcutta in 1939. As a result of these meetings much valuable material has been unearthed and many important selections from the manuscript records have been published. The official records of the Peshwas have been edited in Marathi in forty-five volumes by Mr G S Sardesai. In addition, seven volumes of Selections from the Poona Residency Correspondence have been edited and published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and other Indian historians. The work of the Commission has, therefore, been a great boon to university students in India. At the same time it is important to remember that printed excerpts are but a poor substitute for the original manuscript sources from which every genuine researcher should make his own selections.

Outstanding among the various monographs and papers published in vol xiv is Mr Muhammad Sadullah's *Memoranda on the Nature and Scope of the Persian Records of the Punjab Government (1803-1890)*. Many of the papers published in these three volumes are sketchy and, in some cases, even based on the researches of other historians. Papers of this nature do not deserve a place in the proceedings of the Commission.

THROUGH THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH (Letchworth Amex Co, Ltd) By Stella Mead

(Reviewed by MARGUERITE MILWARD)

Stella Mead is to be congratulated on her idea of tales for children, told as if by a child, entitled *Through the British Commonwealth*. These are published by Amex Company in twelve paper books illustrated with bright, amusing sketches by Eulalie

In a big aeroplane, the *Glenilla*, Tess and Peter wander easily over the British Empire, Egypt, Australia, Africa, Canada, and what they saw and what they thought is told in simple pithy sentences. Part V describes India, and in that land of mystery and violent contrasts nothing is left out of the picture. Reading it, we relive India again with its unbearable heat and eternal snows, its brass-workers and bazaars, luscious fruits and scent of jasmine. The charm of the people and the new century of modern progress is shown mixed up with curious superstitions of the Middle Ages.

The author touches cleverly on the history of Clive and the French, the religions of India—the great love story of Rama and Sita—the teachings of Buddha, and all this in some twelve pages of big print and few words.

THE ROYAL CORONATION AND MY SECOND TRIP TO EUROPE (1937) By the Raja of Bhor

Raja Shrimant Sir Ranganathrao Shankarrao, K.C.I.E., the Ruler of Bhor, described for the benefit of his people his first visit to this country in 1930 under the title of *Twenty One Weeks in Europe*. For a like purpose he narrates his experiences and impressions on a further visit in *The Royal Coronation and My Second Trip to Europe* (1937), when he was accompanied by a happy family party. An outstanding feature of this handsome volume is the excellent choice of photographs of the Coronation and of personal events connected with the tour and the family party accompanying the Raja. In his foreword, Lieut-Colonel P. Gaisford compliments the Raja Sahib on having brought a serious and studious attitude of mind to bear on his travels, and on having bestowed much time and labour on the story. Many of the Raja Sahib's remarks show a discriminating view of English life, and his many British friends will appreciate his kindly references.

F H B

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

The Index for 1942 and 1943 will be published together in the issue for October, 1943

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